

# California History

The Magazine of the California Historical Society

summer 1980



*The MacGowan Girls at Carmel*



THE CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, founded in 1871, preserves historical materials and facilitates their use by everyone interested in California's heritage. The Society's publications, programs, and library services seek to stimulate interest in and achieve a wider appreciation and knowledge of the historical events and ideas that continue to shape life in California today. Membership is open to all.

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#### COVER

The MacGowan sisters, Alice and Grace, are depicted (second and third from the left) in a period Los Angeles *Times* cartoon with fellow "Carmelites" attending a picnic on Point Lobos. The story of the MacGowan girls, both successful authors, and their life at the turn-of-the-century writers' colony at Carmel begins on page 116. Copyright 1966 by The Book Club of California. All rights reserved; reproduced by permission.

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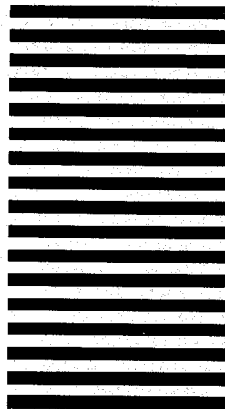
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# The No Fence Law Of 1874

VICTORY FOR SAN JOAQUIN VALLEY FARMERS





The 1874 "No-Fence" law passed by the California legislature signaled a victory for the farmer over the cattleman and stands as a symbol of economic change in the San Joaquin Valley from cattle grazing to cultivation of the soil. The cattleman had arrived in the valley first, in the 1840s, but as settlement began in the 1850s and increased in the 1860s, he found himself in conflict with the rights of the farmer. The ever-increasing farm population meant that local newspapers tended to support the farmer's position, and, moreover, his numerical superiority meant that he would dominate in politics as well. Finally, because the cattleman generally did not own the land his animals grazed upon, he had little legal recourse in any attempt to remove the farmer, whose claim to his 160 acre farm was quite legal. The battle between the two economic interests spanned nearly two decades, climaxed by a series of court cases and laws passed in the 1870s that protected the farmer by obliging the cattlemen to fence in their grazing animals.

**T**he earliest recorded economic activity in Kern County resulted from the establishment of five Spanish ranchos from 1842-1846, located generally in the foothills and mountains on the southern rim of the valley. An unknown, but probably small, number of Mexican longhorns were grazed on those ranchos prior to the American conquest of 1846. Though one government gave way to another, the pastoral economy endured throughout much of southern California well into the 1870s. Just as the Spanish had before them, the American cattlemen used the San Joaquin as a grazing area, taking advantage of the free water and grass as well as of the land itself. Typically, the vaqueros located their camps at

the base of the foothills, permitting the animals to graze in the valley in winter and in the foothills and mountains in summer. This pattern continued through the 1850s and well into the 1860s with little interference from farmers in the early years. Large herds were driven from Los Angeles over the Tehachapis to the mines in northern California. As early as 1847, Benjamin David Wilson tells us that: "I moved up all my stock, about two thousand head of cattle, passed through the Tulare Valley by way of Cajon de los Uvas; there was not a white man living on that route, from San Fernando Mission to Sutter's Fort."<sup>1</sup> During the height of the gold rush, in the early 1850s, several herds were moved north, sometimes losing beef and even vaqueros to the marauding Indians.<sup>2</sup> Some cattle were deliberately left behind to stock the herds kept in the valley. The year 1850 saw the San Joaquin Valley economically dominated by cattle interests with no record of a permanent white settler in all of what is now Kern County.

The dominance of cattle interests was evident in most of California and permitted the passage of the Trespass Act of 1850. This law described in great detail what is a "lawful fence" and placed the burden upon the farmer by stating that unless a lawful fence was erected by the farmer he had no legal protection against stray grazing animals. The law even provided that owners of grazing animals could sue the farmer for any damage done to the stock. The difficulty for the farmer was the cost of building a legal fence. Barbed wire fences were not yet known, and proper wooden or stone fences were prohibitive in cost. The cost of post-and-board fences, "the cheapest good fence that can be built," was estimated by one to be as high as \$700 a mile and by another to equal the annual value of a farmer's crop.<sup>3</sup> It was the passage of this law, often called the "Fence-Law" by contemporaries, that led the farmer in the 1860s and 1870s to lobby for a "No-Fence Law." The term "no-fence" meant to the farmer that he would not be obliged by

John Ludeke is an instructor in California and American history at Bakersfield College.



law to build a fence around his property in order to protect his crops from damage by stray animals.

Tulare County was formed by legislative act in 1852 and at that time included what is now Kern County. There were but three white habitations in the entire area: the Wood cabin at Four Creeks (near present-day Visalia), the Pool and Campbell ferry and trading post on the Kings river (near present-day Centerville), and the Tejon ranch in the Tehachapis. There were no more than a dozen bona fide white residents of the entire county.<sup>4</sup> In 1853, a party of the Corps of Topographical Engineers, led by Lt. Robert S. Williamson, surveyed for a railroad and reached the southern end of the San Joaquin Valley. Traveling from Poso Creek to the Kern River and on south to the Tehachapis, they reported no settlement until reaching Beale's Indian Reservation.<sup>5</sup> But within a

few years the scene changed dramatically. Edward F. Beale acquired the Tejon Ranch and in 1853 established the Sebastian Indian Reservation, which had the effect of placating the Indians and making raids less likely. In the same year, the national government established Fort Tejon in the Tehachapis, which provided a rest stop for travelers and rendered the journey less hazardous. Several businessmen who located near the fort took up cattle raising as a part-time venture.<sup>6</sup> The cattle raised at that time were most often the Mexican longhorn, an animal which was scrawny but tough and well-suited to survival on the open range. More important, the longhorn could be a fierce and aggressive animal, which portended even greater danger to the farmer and his crops.

The first settlers in Kern County chose to live in the mountains generally east and south of present-



*Oversized crops, such as this field of 12 foot high corn, were sufficient testimony that the rich alluvial fan of the Kern River would more profitably support crops than grazing cattle.*

day Bakersfield rather than in the valley itself. The Kern River flowed freely into the valley, depositing water in sloughs and lakes scattered throughout the southern end of the valley. The resulting wet ground conditions gave growth to numerous trees, brush, and "tules" that harbored malaria-infested insects. It was in part to avoid the chills and fever of malaria that settlers at first avoided the valley floor.<sup>7</sup> Some of the first permanent settlers in the county were attracted to the high mountain valleys: John Moore Brite settled in Tehachapi in 1853; William Weldon arrived in South Fork Valley in 1857; A. T. Lightner commenced farming in Walker's Basin in 1858; and William P. Lynn settled in the valley that bears his name before moving to a farm on the Panama slough in the late 1850s. As if to emphasize the dangers of even traveling in the valley, the Butterfield Stage chose in 1858 a route along the eastern rim of the valley whenever possible.

**B**y the late 1850s, several settlers had established farms at or near present-day Bakersfield. They were attracted by the excellent soil and available water from the Kern River. Regarding the prospects for farming, Samuel A. Bishop wrote:

I lived at or near Fort Tejon from the year 1853 to 1866, and can say from personal experience that I know of no county in the State that is more susceptible of being made one of the most flourishing and beautiful on the face of the earth, if settled by an industrious people. There is a belt of land lying along the foothills of the Sierras, commencing from where Kern River enters the valley or plains, extending southeast and south, and thence west or northwest, forming a semi-circle of at least 75 miles, said belt of land ranging from one to six miles in width, making an average of three miles, which would contain 225 sections or 144,000 acres of the finest grain land I ever saw and the other half medium.<sup>8</sup>

The "belt of land" Bishop referred to became known as Kern Island, the alluvial fan created by the Kern River as its drainage reached into the San Joaquin Valley. Historically, the water of the Kern River has moved in many directions once it entered the floor of the valley. It always carried with it river sand which it deposited in the valley to await those "industrious people" who would cultivate it. Kern Island, then, was the name given to the land enclosed by the major channels of the Kern River and, because of slightly higher elevation and the option of channeling river water for irrigation, it proved to be the first choice of settlers coming into the valley.

Kern Island in the 1860s was a relatively isolated area in a state whose population was booming. All that was needed to attract large numbers of settlers was a man of vision and energy. For Kern Island, that man was Colonel Thomas Baker. Baker had been most recently a resident of Visalia and a state Senator familiar with ways and means of acquiring large amounts of land. In 1850, the national government had granted to the state of Arkansas the right to reclaim "swamp lands" and to pass the title to private ownership and had provided at the same time for other states to make similar application. Using the Arkansas Act as a basis, the California legislature in 1857 awarded to William F. and Joseph Montgomery the right to reclaim swamp land in the San Joaquin Valley. A further requirement imposed upon the Montgomeries was to build a canal between the Kern and San Joaquin Rivers large enough to carry vessels of eighty ton burden.<sup>9</sup> Unable to attract sufficient capital for such a large endeavor, the Montgomeries sold their rights to Colonel Baker and Harvey S. Brown of San Francisco. By an act of the legislature of 1863, Baker was exempted from building navigational canals. Baker hired Indians to build a dam to block water from draining into the South Fork in an effort to reclaim the land along the slough flowing north out of Buena Vista Lake. The cost of this effort

was greater than Baker could easily handle, and he sought to recover his expenses by selling the reclaimed land to newly-arrived settlers.<sup>10</sup>

Baker was aided by nature in his reclamation efforts. According to law, to "reclaim" swamp land meant to drain it sufficiently to make the land "susceptible to cultivation."<sup>11</sup> A great drought in 1864 dried out his land far better than he could have with drainage ditches, and the surveyor general pronounced the land reclaimed. The patent of 1867 conveyed to Baker a total of 87,120 acres of land in Kern and Fresno Counties.<sup>12</sup> He promptly sold most of the land to both ordinary settlers and large land purchasers, such as Horatio P. Livermore of San Francisco and his resident agent in Kern County, Julius Chester. Baker had long been a strong advocate of the agricultural prospects of Kern Island:

Why this country has elicited so little attention on the part of agriculturalists I will endeavor to explain. Quite recently, stock-raisers have given it all the attention it deserves. The dry season has caused a failure of grass in other parts of the country, and cattle and horses have been driven here in vast numbers. I estimate there are now in the vicinity not less than 50,000 or 60,000 head. It is situated so far in the interior that, for agricultural purposes, until the recent discovery of rich mines across the Sierra Nevada mountains due east, it was too far to a market; besides, our swamp land grant covers nearly all the desirable land for farming and could not be reclaimed except on the large scale we are about to undertake.<sup>13</sup>

Soon Baker was advertising that he was ready to sell reclaimed swamp land "to cultivators of the soil on the most liberal terms."<sup>14</sup> And the settlers did come, planting a surprising variety of crops in an attempt to determine what would grow best in the distinctive geography and climate of the San Joaquin Valley. As early as 1865, cotton was grown by Solomon Jewett on a 140 acre farm. Jewett imported a ton of seed from Tennessee and a ton from Mexico, the latter faring better.<sup>15</sup> Other crops tried were al-

falfa, apples, grapes, wheat, barley, and sweet potatoes, as well as cattle, horses, and sheep.

Settlement on Kern Island and the growth of the mining towns in the mountains caused sufficient population growth to create Kern County in 1866, with Havilah as the county seat. Oddly enough, Kern Island was thought of as "out of the way" in the 1860s in relation to Havilah. That was due to the fact that the stage coach line from Los Angeles north passed through the mountains to the east of the valley, from Tehachapi Valley to Havilah, Keyesville, and Linn's Valley before moving north to Visalia. With the intention of linking up with this principal north-south artery, Baker financed the construction of a road from Kern Island to Bena, and twisting up the mountain, on to Havilah. The opening of this "turnpike" in 1867 gave hope to the Kern Island farmer that he could more easily market his produce in the mining camps and towns around Havilah. Further progress was shown with the opening of a Post Office in 1867 in what by then was known as Bakersfield with service to Havilah.<sup>16</sup>

As permanent settlers found their way to the Kern Island area in the 1860s, the cattle business remained active throughout the valley and surrounding foothills. Many if not most of the herds were "outsiders" in the sense that their owners were not residents of Kern County and the herds had been driven in from ranges quite distant from Kern Island. In testifying in a case heard before the California Supreme Court, John P. Murray tells us:

I have been in the stock business, in what is now Kern County, from Tulare Lake south. My cattle ranged all over the island there, and around Kern and Buena Vista Lakes, and from Tulare Lake to those points I brought cattle here first in 1864. It was a year of great drought. I came here from Tulare and brought cattle with me, somewhere in the neighborhood of a 1000 to 1200.

There were a lot of cattle there. The country seemed full of them. They drove them in from Santa Barbara and San

*The Kern River, looking westward and downstream, with the Kern Island at the left.*





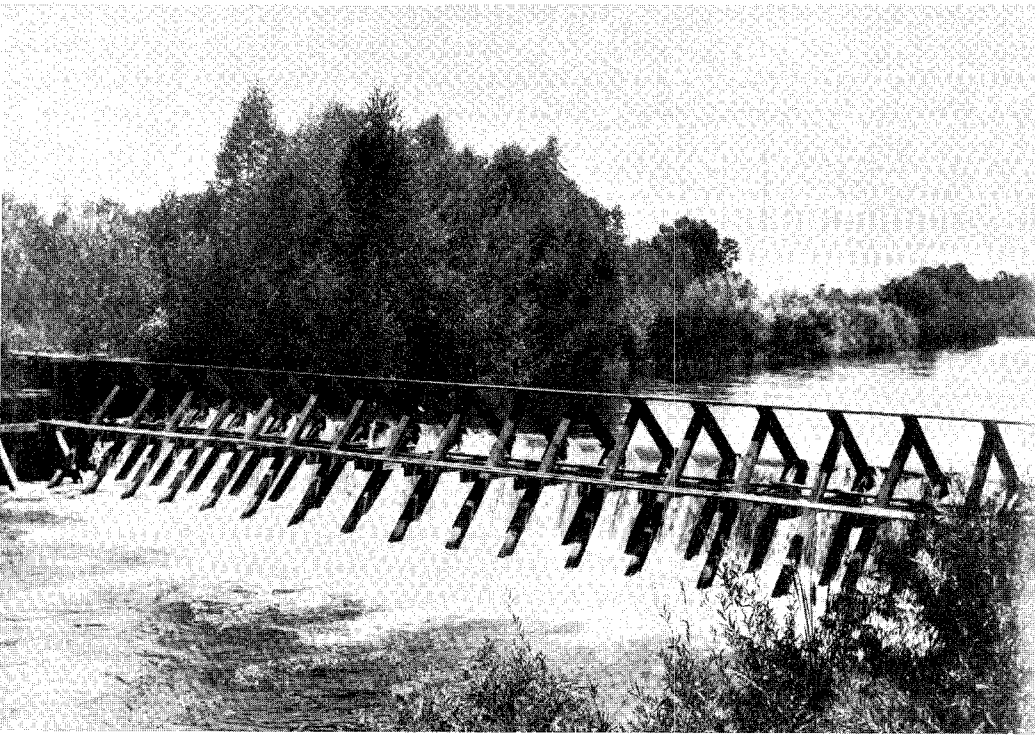
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*Weirs, or small dams, such as this McCaffrey Weir along the Calloway Canal served to drop water elevation as well as to divert water into a series of irrigation ditches.*



Luis Obispo, and all over the country from Santa Clara and Tulare, every place they had cattle they drove them in onto these tules and salt grass to save them, because it was a very dry year.<sup>17</sup>

Murray estimated seeing 40,000 head of cattle in the southern San Joaquin Valley that year, driven there from nearly every direction of the compass. He also makes it clear that he thought of the valley as a refuge during dry years, but other cattlemen ran cattle there on a regular basis so the settlers were continually vexed by the problem of wandering cattle. During the height of the spring roundup, rodeos were held with great frequency throughout the valley and in the mountain valleys. The rodeo marked the climax of the year for the cattlemen and served as a time for celebration as well as for the business of “cutting out” the unmarked cattle and branding. Early reports tell of the fearsome nature of the Mexican Longhorn:

The Spanish cattle, light red, brindle, lemon colored, and sometimes with a dark stripe down the spine, were well suited to early California. They were as fierce as modern Brahmas, well able to take care of themselves and their young in the tough company of coyotes, wolves, lions, and grizzlies. Spanish cattle were leggy, speedy and inclined to produce tough beef. They were dangerous to a man on foot.<sup>18</sup>

It is no wonder that the settlers feared these animals freely roaming the plains, and it is no surprise that the American stockman attempted to upgrade the quality of his herd for better acceptance at the market.

In spite of both flood and drought during the 1860s, the settlers of Kern Island held on and prospered. The slow but certain progress of the Kern Island agricultural settlement already offered better prospects for growth than did the county seat at Havilah, which relied heavily upon the mining industry. By 1869, the editor of the *Havilah Courier* had taken a trip to the “Island:”

We went no farther than Bakersfield, in the upper portion of the Island. Here we found an exceedingly rich soil, capable of producing in the greatest all the products of the temperate zone . . . climate is delightful . . . The settlers on the Island indulge (and justly too) high hopes of the future of their settlement. The Southern Pacific Railroad is certain to run near what is now known as Bakersfield.<sup>19</sup>

Within one month, the editor was again extolling the virtues of Bakersfield, remarking on the large number of persons daily visiting the Island “in pursuit of farms.” He pointed out to his readers that “thousands of acres of superior land near the River are still open to pre-emption at the railroad price of

*Late nineteenth century map showing the irrigation system about Bakersfield.*

\$2.50 per acre.”<sup>20</sup> By the end of that same year, the editor was so convinced of the superiority of “the Island’s” prospects that he moved the *Courier* to Bakersfield. A newspaper that had focused on mining news now shifted its attention to agriculture and became a major spokesman for the interests of the farmer.

As if to mark the correctness of the editor’s decision to move to Bakersfield, the very next year the farmers of the Island joined in forming the Kern County Agricultural Society, the constitution stating in part:

Its objects shall be to promote agriculture, horticulture, and stock raising, and to aid in the early settlement and development of this portion of the valley.<sup>21</sup>

The motivation behind the formation of the Society came from a combination of several factors. The large land owners, such as Baker, were eager to attract land purchasers and intended to employ the Society as a vehicle to trumpet the virtues of Kern Island; the local businessmen were naturally interested in community growth which would increase their market; and the small as well as the large farmers were anxious to unite their strength in their struggle over the Trespass Act of 1850.

By the early 1870s, the *Courier* noted on several occasions the steady increase of the local settler population. Moreover, the editor was pleased with the quality of the immigrants: “. . . we may expect the speedy occupation of all our vacant lands by a superior and well-to-do class of people.”<sup>22</sup> In the fall of 1873, encampments of prospective settlers could be seen dotting the outskirts of Bakersfield, each party looking for the best land to settle upon. One farmer reported six eastern families camped on his land with that object in mind.<sup>23</sup> Many of these immigrants came from such near-by locations as Tulare County and the mountain valleys generally east of Bakersfield. The local editor no doubt reflected the

feelings of the local farmers in asserting the superior nature of the farmer over the cattleman:

It has been found that our vast plains and fertile valleys can be put to a much better use than to merely afford pasturage for droves of wild horses and cattle. Experience has shown that these lands are well adapted to the production of grain, and instead of being the homes of nomadic vaqueros with his band of mustangs, they are fitted for the homes of intelligent and prosperous farmers. Let the neat farm house take the place of the thong-bound corral and thatched-roof cabin; let the plains wave with grain instead of their natural crops of weeds; let the worthless mustang be replaced by Morgans, Blackhawks and Hambletonians; let the slab-sided, long-horned wild cattle be replaced with Devons, Durhams, and Ayrshires.<sup>24</sup>

**T**he emerging dominance of the farmer over the cattleman on Kern Island was but a microcosm of an economic shift that took place throughout the state and, indeed, the nation. Typically the cattleman made first use of grass lands on the advancing frontier, running his cattle on the open range and thus feeding and watering his stock on public land. As the frontier gave way to the permanent settler, the cattleman found himself in conflict over land and water rights, as well as over his marauding cattle. This tale, with few alterations, took place on a grand scale on the Great Plains west of the Mississippi River at roughly the same time in American history. In California, the cattleman had been free to graze his stock in the Central Valley, ranging from Redding in the north to Kern Island in the south. Now, in the 1860s and 1870s, he was forced to give way to the farmer, both in fact and in law. The cattleman was overwhelmed not only by the larger numbers of the farm population, but, equally important, by his lack of a legal right to the land he had used. In arguing his cause, he was wont to fall back on the reason-



*This 1890 scene of downtown Bakersfield's main street (Chester Avenue and 19th Street) shows the office of the Bakersfield Californian as well as an enticing Land Office. A contemporary describes Bakersfield as "being laid out on a liberal scale with large lots and very wide streets" with a population of 1600.*



ing that the land was good for nothing better than grazing. When the farmer came along, settled, raised crops, and proved that assertion false, the cattleman was left with little practical and no legal ground to stand upon. His largest hope was to maintain the status quo by preventing the legislature from passing any law detrimental to his interests.

That hope began to flicker in the early 1870s as the farmer became increasingly exercised on the fence question:

The fence and no-fence question is considerably talked about. The farmers of Kern County, like elsewhere, are becoming very tired of herding stock for a class of people, who have no further interest in the county save to drive

their cattle to eat the grass which they, the actual settlers, need for what little stock they have for themselves.<sup>25</sup>

A particular problem on Kern Island was the large number of so-called "nomads" or cattle driven into the area from distant locations. The settlers were, as a result, bothered not only by the wild cattle but by the fact that the owners did not even pay local taxes. The president of the Agricultural Society, Andrew R. Jackson, expressed the problem well:

The reputation of the great valley of Tulare, as a grazing region, is almost world wide, and herds of cattle are constantly driven into it from every quarter of the state, and even from foreign states; last fall a herd of five thousand head, from Sonora, being driven through Tejon Canyon,



*Essential to any large farming operation was the ditching machine, here drawn by 12 horses and pushed by 4 more, forming a V-shaped irrigation ditch.*



and allowed to scatter over Kern Island to drive out and ruin settlers, and retard and destroy the prosperity of the country, equal to a warlike invasion. Common fences are no defense against wild and starving cattle. As the time of harvest approaches, fields require guarding night and day.<sup>26</sup>

Because the farm population was concentrated on Kern Island proper, the Agricultural Society in 1871-1872 asked for a "no-fence" law that would apply to the island only. But as the logic of the "no-fence" law became apparent, supporters of the law realized that local application would only cause severe hardship on any area not covered by a "no-fence" law. That is, if a "no-fence" law in effect drove cattlemen out of one county, the men would, if permitted, simply drive their herds to an area where unlimited grazing was still permitted. The *Courier* quotes "a gentleman of high social standing" and obviously a prominent cattleman as one who had changed his mind on the fence question:

"... it will be found better by cattle owners in the condition to pay rent for their grazing grounds, and be assured of its entire use, than to be subjected to the present unlimited and grasping competition."<sup>27</sup>

A meeting of the Agricultural Society was held in April, 1872 at the Bakersfield town hall in which both farmers and local stockmen agreed that a "no-fence" law was needed:

Our cattle owners have been very generally in favor of a (no-fence) law. Their range is ample, without encroaching upon the tracts held for cultivation, and they manifest a disposition to restrain their stock within those limits where they can do no damage to the farmers.<sup>28</sup>

Farmers and local stockmen alike were determined to no longer permit stock "from abroad" to enter the county. In a series of resolutions, they agreed to form a "Settlers' Protective Association," for the purpose of lobbying their cause effectively throughout the state. Further evidence that cattle "from abroad" dominated the valley is to be found in the statement by Jesse O. Cole in 1871:

There are over 60,000 head of cattle in this valley, below the foothills, from the lower edge of the county up to Kern Lake, that have been driven here by men living in other counties. If other counties do not own this valley for pasture, they come so d—d near it, it's not worth quarreling about.<sup>29</sup>

Because the country was wide open, traveling

about on other than horseback could be unsafe as a person on foot exposed himself to the “vicious cattle” to be encountered anywhere. Parents complained that “these vicious beasts make the attendance of the children at school risky and often dangerous.”<sup>30</sup>

**A** major obstacle to the passage of a “no-fence” law was the local state Senator, Thomas Fowler, who was also a prominent cattleman and vigorous opponent of any “no-fence” law. He owned a third interest in some 15,000 or 20,000 cattle and was known to be a violent opponent of settlement, railroads, and cultivation.<sup>31</sup> As the Joint Senator from Tulare and Kern Counties, he openly boasted that he had killed “no-fence” legislation in the past and would do it again at the next legislative session. Fowler paid a private visit to Bakersfield in 1873, just prior to the election, and was accompanied by Henry Miller of the Miller and Lux cattle company. When asked at the local saloon if he would express himself on the fence question, he gracefully waived the subject, protesting that his was a non-political visit, offered the questioner a drink, and thus avoided the topic.<sup>32</sup>

While the farmers were struggling over the fence question, the Southern Pacific Railroad was building a line from Oakland down the San Joaquin Valley to Bakersfield and through the Tehachapi Pass to Mojave and Los Angeles. It was commonly believed that once the railroad reached Bakersfield (and it did in 1874) the “no-fence” law would be inevitable. This conviction was based on the assumption that railroad access would stimulate commerce in Bakersfield and encourage settlement by providing a ready and inexpensive means of transporting farm products to San Francisco. No doubt the railroad did play a major role in the shift from a pastoral to an agricultural

economy in the San Joaquin Valley.

The major reason why the Kern Island farmer did not want to enclose his 160 acre farm was the high cost of fence materials. Protesting that light fences are worse than none at all, a Kern Island farmer posed the problem he and others faced:

Substantial fences are entirely beyond our means. Just look at the cost and see how hopeless such an undertaking becomes. To fence in this island, in fences of 160 acres each, with the necessary roads and lanes — to say nothing of sub-dividing these farms into fields — will require at least five hundred miles, or 160 rods of fencing. At four posts and five boards to the rod this will require 640,000 posts and twelve million eight hundred thousand feet of boards. Now suppose we could get the posts at five cents a piece, and the boards at but little over half their present cost, say \$30 a thousand, and we have the neat little sum of four hundred and sixteen thousand dollars before we begin to count the nails and labor of construction.<sup>33</sup>

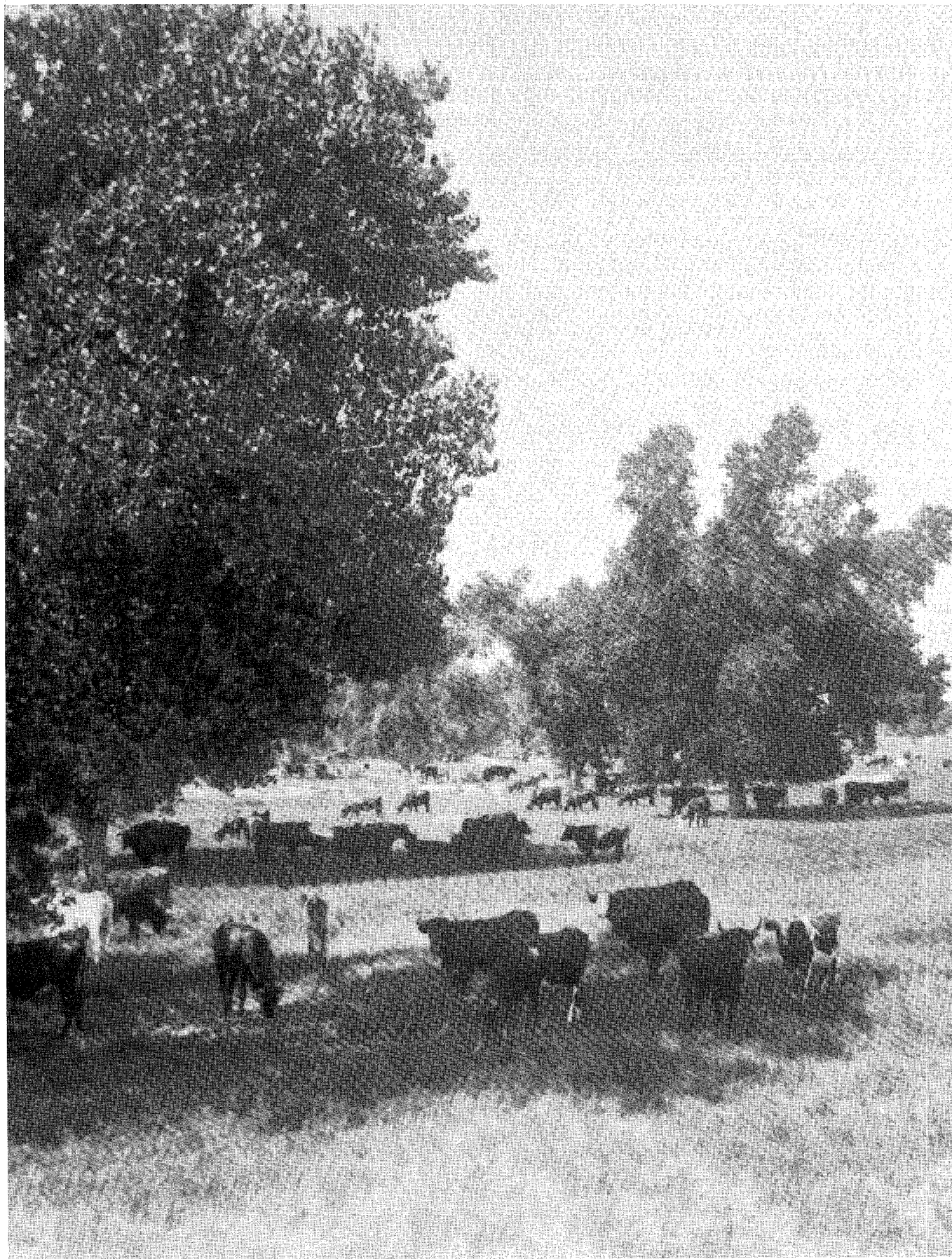
According to one estimate, using the methods available in 1870, it would cost \$2,240 to fence 160 acres. That was an amount of money simply not available to the average farmer. Even had it been economically possible to fence in the farms of Kern Island, the farmer still would have objected to stray cattle:

“Fence” means the old order of things . . . while “no-fence” means that the stock raiser must fence in his cattle and confine them to a stated and, of course, comparatively narrow domain.<sup>34</sup>

So the farmer’s “no-fence” position was formed by a combination of factors: the high cost of fencing, his conviction that Kern Island was best suited for agriculture, a demand that his property (crops) be protected by law, and the special bitterness reserved for “interlopers” or cattle from outside the county.

Even before the actual “no-fence” law was passed in 1874, several prominent cattlemen anticipated its passage and began enclosing their herds. Their will-





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## No Fence Law

ingness to do so was undoubtedly helped along by the invention of barbed wire in the early 1870s. This technological advance sharply reduced the cost of fencing and made it possible for the stockman to fence in large areas of land at comparatively low cost. The combined technology of the railroad and barbed wire made it possible for Miller and Lux, owners of an immense tract of land lying between Goose and Tulare Lakes to fence in their agricultural holdings.<sup>35</sup> In a quite literal sense, the incoming railroad brought both the farmer and barbed wire, and the cattleman was obliged to use one to contend with the other.

It should not be supposed that the state legislature that finally enacted the "no-fence" law on February 4, 1874 was a model of decorum and propriety. Historian Robert Glass Cleland has characterized that political body of the 1870s as "dishonest, mediocre, and confused."<sup>36</sup> The enactment of the no-fence law was in no sense an instance of a legislature seeking reform or consciously pursuing justice. Instead, this body, which was frequently described by newspapers of the day as "extravagant, useless, and corrupt" was reacting largely to political pressure and to what the increasingly numerous farmers called "progress."

The Southern Pacific Railroad stood to gain greater profits from productive farms and prosperous towns than from any scanty business derived from the open range cattle business. Further, the railroad was anxious to sell to farmers land granted to it by the U.S. government. It follows that any railroad influence on the "fence" question would support the farmer. The 1873 defeat of Senator Thomas Fowler, representing Tulare, Fresno, and Kern Counties, in an election which focused on the "fence" question, certainly gave clear indication of the shifting sentiment in the San Joaquin Valley. The victor in the election was Tipton Lindsey, a Democrat and advocate of the "no-fence" law. The "No-Fence" law itself was introduced in the Senate by Lindsey, and in the Assembly by Fresno's John W. Ferguson. These legis-

lators reflected well the wishes of the valley's farmers to close off the open range, fence in destructive stock and thus protect the tiller of the soil.

Neither should one assume that this law captured the attention of the entire state at the time of its consideration and passage. While the "fence" question was of obvious and demonstrable importance to residents of the central valley, the peculiar conditions that gave it importance there simply did not exist in other places. Those necessary ingredients included large amounts of arable public land at first open to cattle and sheep grazing, but later "susceptible" to the homesteading farmer. Outside the central valley, California was largely either mountainous, desert, or, along the coast, privately owned. The central valley was the most likely place for an ordinary farmer, using irrigation, to settle on either public or railroad land and expect to prosper.

A contemporary Senator, William J. Shaw, in describing the session of 1874, barely mentions the No-Fence law in his summary of that year's legislative accomplishments. Instead, he was irritated by a lengthy laundry list of trivial laws passed, rendering discussion of any serious matter impossible. He off-handedly refers to a law that "prohibited horned cattle from running about in some of the counties."<sup>37</sup> But indifference and perhaps even corruption at the state level does not detract from the importance of the passage of the law to valley residents.

**T**he "No-Fence" Law of 1874 did not require anyone to either build or tear down his fences. However it strongly favored the farmer's interests by providing that the "owner of land" may take up and safely keep any stray animal at the expense of the stockman. The law further provided that the farmer need notify the stockman of the possession of stray animals only if he could identify the owner and if he lived within six

*The passage of the No-Fence Law did not eliminate cattle from Kern County, but instead forced their owners to fence them in, as seen on the McClung Ranch around 1880.*



miles. For each head of horned cattle retained by the farmer, he was to be compensated twenty five cents per day by the eventual claimant. The farmer could recover damages done to his property by court suit, filing in the Justice Court if the damages asked were under \$300 and in the District Court if in excess of \$300. If the owners of the stray animals could not be located, the animals would be sold at auction, and any proceeds were used first to settle any damage claim. In the event of an "overplus," the proceeds were given to the proven owner if he could be located within six months and, if not, then to the local school fund. The law made it a felony offense for any person to attempt to "take advantage of this act" by moving stock from a farmer's field if that stock had been identified as trespassing on the farmer's property. The sole requirement placed upon the farmer was to mark his 160 acres "with visible and well defined monuments." The editor of the *Courier* suggested to his readers that they build strong corrals in which to enclose stray animals, as if to anticipate that the problem would continue in spite of the law.<sup>38</sup>

The passage of the law unquestionably stands as the symbol of change in Kern County from a pastoral to an agricultural economy. The year of its enactment also witnessed the arrival of the railroad, the formation of a brass band, and the dedication of the first church building in Bakersfield.<sup>39</sup> These seemingly unrelated events in fact represent the emergence of a permanent community from what had been a collection of farm settlements. The editor of the local paper sensed the importance of the law's impact upon the community:

The passage of this law, for which the friends of progress in this county have labored arduously, under every sort of rebuff and discouragement for years, marks a new era in our history — one from which will be dated our first real advance in population, improvement and wealth. Hitherto, the herds of wild cattle and the men who owned them, free from all restraints of law, as far as regarded the most

essential rights of property in others, have been too much for the ordinary pioneering forces of civilization.<sup>40</sup>

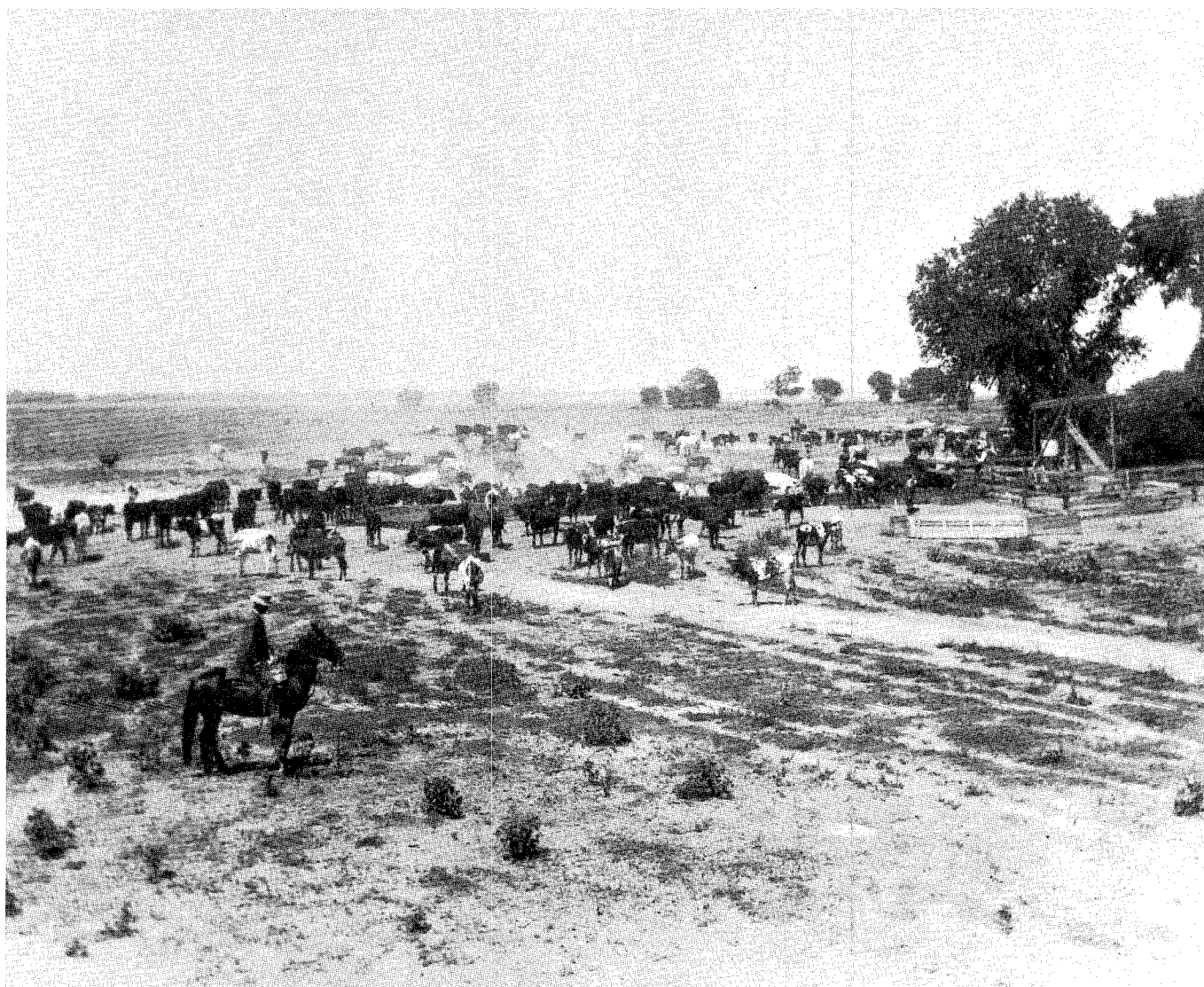
The passage of the "no-fence" law did not bring an abrupt end to the controversy surrounding stray animals and the respective rights of the farmer and cattleman. The farmer had gained a signal victory in the legislature, but it would be several years before a series of court decisions combined with practical experience would clarify precisely the rights of the farmer as well as those of the stockman. Stock continued to graze on the hills surrounding the southern San Joaquin Valley, and rodeos were held annually. The *Courier* reported in 1875 that the mountains south of Kern Island "are said to be full of cattle, and the grazing and water are unequalled in the country."<sup>41</sup> A year later a rodeo was held at San Emidio with 5000 head of cattle in sight.<sup>42</sup> With such a large number of cattle in the foothills, it was inevitable that some would meander into Kern Island and even Bakersfield:

There is a good deal of complaint about loose stock running in our streets. A few nights ago Mr. Lennox had three fine eucalyptus trees, that were growing in front of his residence, ruined by some vagrant stock. The gardens too, east of town, are frequently invaded; the most substantial fences being insufficient to keep them out. There is but one mode of redress that we are aware of, and that in the trespass law. Cattle have no right to run at large, and any one has a right to corral them and sell them according to law.<sup>43</sup>

While local stockmen in general agreed with the correctness of the "No-Fence" law in its application to Kern Island, they believed that areas chiefly desirable for grazing purposes should have been excluded from the effects of the law. In Kern County, the stockmen of the mountain valleys were particularly convinced that the law adversely affected their interests.

In 1877, the California Supreme Court, in *J.V.N. Young v. Wright* handed down a decision regarding

*By 1880 the larger cattle ranchers had fenced in their grazing animals, and were systematically supplying water from wells and ditches and feed from their own alfalfa and hay fields.*

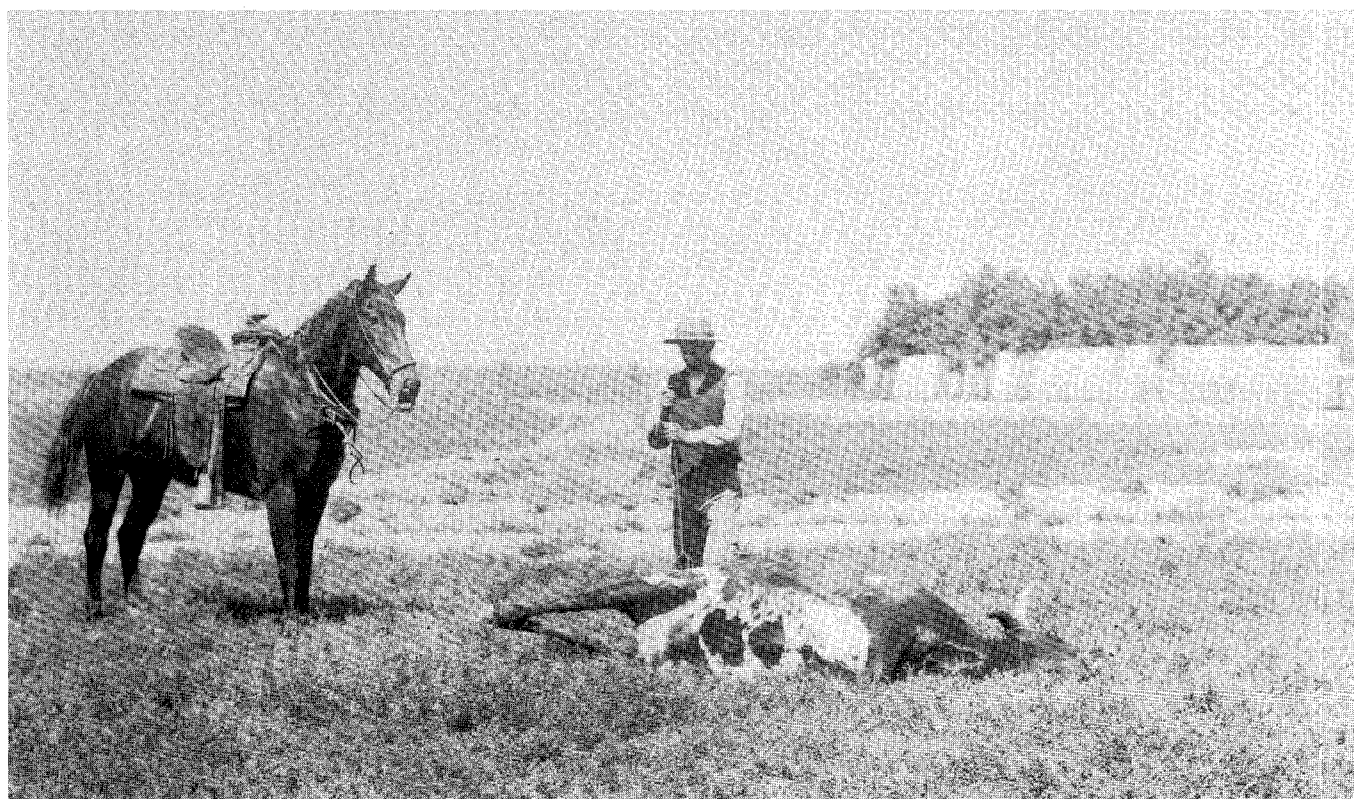


the “no-fence” law which appeared to weaken the farmer’s position. John Wright, a resident of San Luis Obispo County, in 1876 took up one thousand and fifty sheep and, when the owner, J.V.N Young, refused to pay damages and feeding costs, the plaintiff filed a complaint with the nearest Justice. The Justice,

upon hearing the case, ordered Wright to pay \$25 damages and \$218.75 “cost of keeping.” On appeal, the Supreme Court reversed the decision, arguing that the action was in essence a proceeding in equity to enforce a lien. That is, the case involved a transfer of property (in this instance a fine imposed by the



*Cattle branding at Bellevue Ranch. When cattle were handled entirely in open country, the reata or lasso was the principal means of catching and holding them.*



court to pay damages and the cost of keeping) and could not be settled by a mere Justice Court. Lacking a jury, the defendant would be denied his constitutional right to a jury trial if he chose to contest the Justice's decision. The Supreme Court rendered a similar decision in *Sutherland v. Sweem* a year later by concluding that:

We hold that so much of the Act of February 4, 1874 ("no-fence" law), as attempted to confer upon Justice Courts jurisdiction in the class of cases provided for in the Act, is unconstitutional and void, and were not admissible in evidence for any purpose.

The total effect of these decisions was to make it more difficult, but not impossible, for the farmer to file a complaint in court under the "no-fence" law.

Now he must seek redress in the District Court, usually a more distant jurisdiction and likely to be more expensive. In an article entitled "The No-Fence Law Emasculated," the writer explained:

The evil effects of this decision will be that when the owners are unknown and the damages light, persons suffering from the depredations of roving stock will be debarred a remedy, as the cost and trouble will be too great to allow of prosecution.<sup>44</sup>

In 1878 the state legislature passed an act designed to meet the farmer's objections to the first "no-fence" law. Though it did not apply to either Tulare or Kern County, the law is noteworthy as a political effort to satisfy the farmer's demands state-wide that stock be enclosed by fencing. The 1878 law provided that

complaints raised by farmers be filed in District Courts only, thus avoiding the constitutional question raised in *Young v. Wright*. It further provided that the District Court "is always open for the purpose of entering judgment." In other words, the Clerk of the Court could receive any complaint in the resident Judge's absence. Thus, a farmer traveling a great distance could be assured that he could file a complaint during the business hours of the nearest District Court. The 1878 law, though limited in its application to certain counties, would nevertheless have the total effect statewide of the Supreme Court henceforth rendering judgments more favorable to the farmer's position.

The halcyon days of the open range in Kern County were brought to an end by 1878. The cattleman could clearly see that his future lay in enclosing and perhaps even diminishing his herds. The arrival of the railroad in 1874 insured ever greater numbers of settlers in the future. And in any legal contest over land and water rights, the farmer had the enormous advantage of owning the land he operated on. When the farm population had sufficiently grown by 1874 to pass the "no-fence" law, the cattleman had no choice but to make use of the newly-invented barbed wire to contain his stock. The cattleman was not defeated by the farmer in the 1870s; he was simply fenced in.

All of the photographs are by pioneer photographer Carleton E. Watkins and are reproduced here through the courtesy of the Kern County Public Library.

## Notes

1. Vernet Snyder Ripley, "The San Fernando Pass and the Pioneer Traffic That Went Over It," *Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, XXIX, No. 1 (March, 1947), pp. 29-30.

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15. *Times-Delta* (Visalia), June 25, 1959.
16. *Kern County Weekly Courier* (Havilah), August 18, 1868.
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26. *Kern County Weekly Courier* (Bakersfield), March 11, 1871.
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28. *Ibid.*, April 20, 1872.
29. *Ibid.*, April 29, 1871.
30. *Ibid.*, January 25, 1873.
31. *Ibid.*, November 11, 1871.
32. *Ibid.*, August 9, 1873.
33. *Ibid.*, November 12, 1870.
34. *Ibid.*, September 30, 1871.
35. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1873.
36. Robert Glass Cleland, *A History of California: The American Period* (New York: The MacMillan Company, 1922) p. 406.
37. *Ibid.*
38. *Kern County Weekly Courier* (Bakersfield), February 14, 1874.
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42. *Southern Californian* (Bakersfield), April 27, 1876.
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# The MacGowan

Not long after 82-year-old Grace MacGowan Cooke died on June 24, 1944, at the home of her daughter Katharine near Los Gatos, California, the *Times* newspaper in distant Chattanooga, Tennessee, published an article entitled "The MacGowan Girls."<sup>1</sup> The paper wished to pay tribute to Grace and her sister, Alice MacGowan, daughters of Col. John Encill MacGowan, editor of the *Chattanooga Times* from 1872 until his death in 1903.

The MacGowan sisters had moved to California in 1908 to join the literary colony at Carmel-by-the-Sea. They had already achieved wide popular success with their novels, short stories, essays, and poems, a success that began as early as 1888 with the publication of Grace's first magazine stories.<sup>2</sup> Most of their work was done jointly; they also collaborated with Annie Booth McKinney in Knoxville, Emma Bell Miles and Caroline Wood Morrison in Chattanooga, and Perry Newberry in California.

Among the novels published by the sisters were *Mistress Joy* (1901) by Grace MacGowan Cooke and Annie Booth McKinney; *The Last Word* (1902), by Alice MacGowan; *A Gourd Fiddle* (1904), by Grace MacGowan Cooke; *Return and Hulda* (1905), by Alice MacGowan; *Their First Formal Call* (1906), by Grace MacGowan Cooke; *Judith of the Cumberland*s (1908), *The Wiving of Lance Cleaver*age (1909), and

*The Sword in the Mountains* (1910), all by Alice MacGowan with contributions from Emma Bell Miles;<sup>3</sup> *The Joy Bringer* (1913), by Grace MacGowan Cooke; *William and Bill* (1914), by Grace MacGowan Cooke and Caroline Wood Morrison; and *The Million Dollar Suitcase* (1921), *The Mystery Woman* (1924), *Shaken Down* (1925), *The Seventh Passenger* (1926), and *Who Is This Man?* (1927), by Alice MacGowan and Perry Newberry.

Alice MacGowan was born in Perrysburg, Ohio, on December 10, 1858, and Grace was born in Grand Rapids, Ohio, on September 11, 1863. The children moved to Chattanooga during the Civil War with their mother, Malvina Johnson MacGowan, who brought them down from Ohio in August of 1865 to join Col. MacGowan, provost marshal in the Union army occupying the city. Alice's earliest memories were of "the little battle-smitten, mud-gullied town full of blue-coated soldiers" where they ate at the Colonel's mess, went to bed at "taps," attended school taught by the post chaplain, and played in the earthworks of Redoubt Lytle or Fort Sheridan.<sup>4</sup>

When the army disbanded in the spring of 1866, Col. MacGowan elected to remain in Chattanooga, as did many other Union officers and soldiers. After practicing law for several years, Col. MacGowan became editor of the *Chattanooga Times*, a position that he continued to hold after publisher Adolph Ochs acquired the paper in 1878. When Col. MacGowan died on April 12, 1903, at the age of 72, his wife and a son, Frank, had predeceased him. He was survived by his daughters Alice and Grace, his son-in-law, William Cooke, and two

Kay Gaston's credentials include a B.A. from Vanderbilt University, an M.A. from Tulane University, and a summer as a contributor in non-fiction at the Bread Loaf Writers' Conference. Her most recent publication is an article entitled "Emma Bell Miles and the Fountain Square Conversations" in the *Tennessee Historical Quarterly* (Winter, 1978).

# Girls



*This double portrait of Alice MacGowan and Grace MacGowan Cooke was made prior to 1910. It appeared in The Lookout on September 25, 1915 with the notation that their recent play, Pageant of Monterey, had been a feature of the California Exposition.*

grandchildren, Helen and Katharine Cooke.

Grace had married William Cooke on February 17, 1887, a “charming, radiant, and happy” bride dressed in brown brocade velvet. The groom waiting for her in the chancel of the First Presbyterian Church was a well-liked newcomer from Virginia, the junior partner of the bride’s brother in the printing firm of MacGowan & Cooke.<sup>5</sup>

After the marriage Grace had begun working for her husband and brother as a bookkeeper at wages of \$3 a week; and following her day’s work at the printing office she wrote stories for magazines. Later she reflected in her journal that she had not been fitted for matrimony but was “made for motherhood,” a joy she discovered with the birth of two daughters.<sup>6</sup> She and William Cooke lived together happily enough for twenty years, however, until a break resulting from “differences in temperament” led to her departure from Chattanooga in March of 1906.<sup>7</sup> Grace, Alice, and the children first went to visit friends in Rockford, Illinois; from Illinois they moved on to Virginia, and then to Helicon Hall, a Utopian writers’ colony in New Jersey recently established by Upton Sinclair.<sup>8</sup>

On October 4, 1906, Sinclair had announced the purchase of Helicon Hall, a former private school on the Palisades near Englewood, N.J., for \$36,000, all but \$10,000 on mortgage. He funded his experiment in cooperative group living with a portion of the \$30,000 in royalties from his popular book *The Jungle*. The *New York Times* wryly commented that Helicon Hall was “filled with everything that the traditional ascetic does not want,” enumerating a



swimming pool, bowling alley, theater, pipe organ, glass-covered central courtyard with a fountain and a giant rubber tree, and a four-sided fireplace.<sup>9</sup>

Living in the colony were socialists, anarchists, syndicalists, single-taxers, New Thoughtists, and spiritualists. Alice MacGowan and Grace MacGowan Cooke worked alongside Professor W.P. Montague of Columbia; Professor William Noyes of Teachers College; Edwin Bjorkman, critic and translator of Strindberg, and his wife, suffragette Frances Maule; Michael Williams, the future editor of *Commonweal*; and a literary janitor from New Haven named Sinclair Lewis, whom the MacGowan sisters called "Hal."<sup>10</sup>

Grace and Alice probably came to Helicon Hall at the invitation of Michael Williams and his wife, Peggy, whom they later followed to Carmel-by-the-Sea. The sisters had been looking for a suitable place to write when they came to Helicon Hall. Grace reported that she found it "delightful" and its people "full of brotherly love and good feeling," but she also thought it was noisy and its aims "inchoate."<sup>11</sup>

She and Alice had already discussed the need to find a small apartment in New York where they could work without interruption before a fire, early on the morning of March 16, 1907, destroyed Helicon Hall. A workman was killed and eight of the seventy occupants were seriously injured. Among the injured were Grace MacGowan Cooke and Alice MacGowan, who were sent to Englewood Hospital. Grace had a sprained back and was suffering from shock; Alice's injuries were similar though not as serious; and the two children, Helen and Katharine, were unharmed.<sup>12</sup>

The *Chattanooga Times* reported that Upton Sinclair had been running through the halls waking sleeping writers, when he heard shrieks coming from the rooms occupied by the MacGowan sisters. Sinclair smashed in the door and shouted to the women to

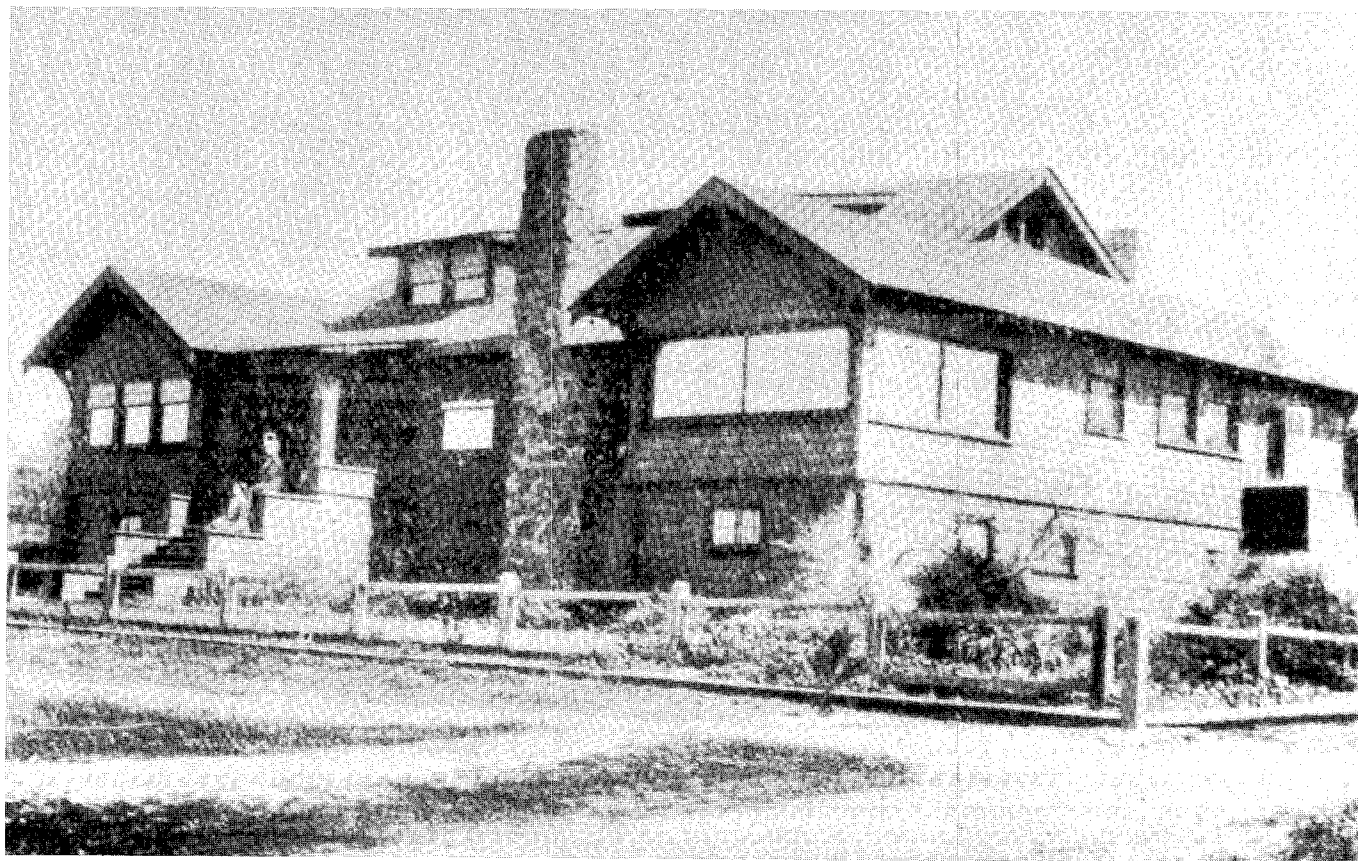
follow him to the staircase. They entered the hall but were almost overcome by smoke, so they retreated to their rooms, carrying the children. Sinclair ran back into the room, picked up a chair which he used to smash out a window, and leaped to the ground.<sup>13</sup>

Professor William Knoll was just passing by, wrapped in a blanket. Grabbing the blanket, Sinclair unfolded it to make a life net with the assistance of Knoll and two other men. "Drop the children into the blanket!" Sinclair shouted. The women tore the children's arms from around their necks and let them fall unhurt into the blanket. "Mrs. Cooke came next," Upton Sinclair told reporters, "and being quite a heavy woman, her weight ripped the blanket to pieces and she went through injuring herself very badly. Miss MacGowan jumped last. In her descent she struck a stone coping and was quite badly hurt though not so seriously as her sister, Mrs. Cooke."<sup>14</sup>

The Helicon Hall fire received considerable attention in the May issue of *The Nautilus*, a New Thought magazine published and edited by Elizabeth Towne.<sup>15</sup> Grace MacGowan Cooke, a contributor of poems and articles to the magazine, wrote Mrs. Towne that she regarded the Helicon Hall experience as "a good hard lesson." Although she and her sister had lost all their personal possessions and manuscripts in the fire, they were not discouraged and had resolved to take their work more seriously than before.<sup>16</sup>

After the Helicon Hall disaster, *The Nautilus* continued to publish poems and articles by Grace and to keep readers informed of the movements of the MacGowan sisters. "Alice MacGowan and Grace MacGowan Cooke are seeking a quiet place near N.Y. for their winter's literary work," Mrs. Towne reported in October, 1907, giving their address as Oak Bluffs, Massachusetts. In February, 1908, Mrs. Towne recommended that her readers purchase Grace MacGowan Cooke's new book, *Son Riley Rabbit and Little Girl*.<sup>17</sup>

*Alice MacGowan and her sister, Grace MacGowan Cooke, purchased this bungalow at Carmel in 1909. Built by Eugenia Mabury for her own occupancy, it fronted the bay at a spot later known as "Cooke's Cove."*



The following month she reported that Grace and Alice were looking for a ranch home for next summer in Arizona, New Mexico, or California for themselves, the children, and a stenographer — “a nice place big as all outdoors, good board, plenty of horses to ride and the washing all done for them.” “Grace says she has tried ranch life before and knows how to dress for it,” Elizabeth Towne continued, “but she draws the line at washing even a pocket handkerchief.”<sup>18</sup>

That spring, in April, William Cooke filed for divorce from Grace MacGowan Cooke on the grounds of desertion. The petition for divorce read in part that

the complainant “has never been cruel, nor even unkind to any of them. For a long time he tried to overcome the estrangement, but the defendant has told him not to come wherever she is, and she has made it clear . . . that she will lead no other life than one of celibacy, retirement, and intellectual effort. Complainant avers that his marriage contract did not contemplate such a life.”<sup>19</sup>

When the petition was filed the MacGowan sisters were living in Douglaston, New York, where Sinclair Lewis came to visit and discuss an idea for a three-way collaboration on a book to be called *Ecce Homo*. The MacGowans spent the summer of 1908 as



*"They worked from morning until midnight, stopping only for meals and an afternoon drive."*

patients in a sanatorium at Kirksville, Missouri, where they were treated for lingering effects of the injuries suffered at Helicon Hall. Late in November they departed for California, arriving at Carmel-by-the-Sea in early December.

The Carmel of 1908 bore no resemblance to the Carmel of sixty or seventy years later:

Indeed, there was no community. There was only the old Mission San Carlos Borromeo, and then, where the fragile clutter of Carmel crowds up and away from the sea today, only the clusters of weirdly gnarled cypresses and the great stands of Monterey pines, the white sand, the indigo sea or, sometimes, in Jack London's words, 'the amazing peacock blue' and a mile-long sweep of breaker across the breadth of the bay.<sup>20</sup>

The first writers to settle at Carmel were novelist Mary Austin and San Francisco poet George Sterling. Sterling built a redwood bungalow there in 1905, attracting other writers and artists until there was a community of around 50. Short-story writer Jimmy Hopper, Russian writer Anna Strunsky, and Michael and Peggy Williams were already permanent residents of the community when the MacGowan sisters arrived in 1908.

Grace and Alice bought a two-storied, half-timbered house located on a cliff above the beach at what came to be known as "Cooke's Cove." The house had a fireplace and a picture window looking out over the bay. It had been built by a woman architect, Eugenia Mabury, for her own occupancy.

Less than a year earlier, the house had been elaborately described in *The House Beautiful*; illustrating the article was a painting of the house by the late Sidney Ward, a well-known artist on the coast.<sup>21</sup>

Soon after their arrival, in late December, the sisters wired 23-year-old "Hal" Lewis, inviting him to come serve as their secretary and collaborate on the book they had discussed in Douglaston. In "all of ten hours" Lewis accepted their offer, which carried with it a train ticket from New York to California, and set off across the country by day coach. On January 5, 1909, Grace noted in her journal, "Hal walked in at lunch time."<sup>22</sup>

For a little over a year Sinclair Lewis lived in a shack on the beach near the MacGowan house; that spring he shared his modest quarters with friend William Rose Benét. During the summer the two young men were hosts to *The Nautilus* editor Elizabeth Towne and her husband, William E. Towne, who were visiting the MacGowan sisters. Through the influence of Grace MacGowan Cooke, Mrs. Towne accepted for publication two stories by Sinclair Lewis, "The Smile Lady" and "The City Shadow."<sup>23</sup>

Years later Sinclair Lewis described the Carmel of 1908 as "a drift of redwood bungalows lost among the pines." He and other residents of this "California mirage" picnicked among the rocks and did almost anything they pleased "among the eucalyptus, the poppies, the rafts of kelp agitated by the pale green-glass breakers." For food the carefree Lewis was dependent on the almost daily picnics given by Grace and Alice, consisting mainly of abalone and Spanish beans.<sup>24</sup>

When Lewis left to find a job in San Francisco in March of 1910, Grace MacGowan Cooke wrote in her journal that "Hal proved impossible, went his way."<sup>25</sup> Her daughter Katharine recalled that Lewis had made an inappropriate remark in German about Helen, with whom he had been enamoured for some



Alice MacGowan on the beach at Carmel

*“After dinner they read aloud the finished work. . . . As literary collaborators they were charming, sympathetic, and invariably wise.”*

time — that brought his stay with the MacGowans to an end.<sup>26</sup>

During the summer of 1910 the MacGowan sisters experienced a break in their literary partnership. In August Grace was thrown sharply back on her own resources after Alice insisted on working independently of her sister. Despairingly, Grace confided to her journal that she had always done her best work in collaboration on someone else's manuscript, adding that she loved to display her skill at “producing plots and enrichments that belong in other people's enterprises.”<sup>27</sup>

By November she was reconciled to the situation and was packing for a trip to Oraibi in Arizona's Hopi country. This expedition was designed to gather material for a new novel that Grace would entitle *The Joy Bringer*. For several months Grace and her daughters lived in the desert among the Indians. The stenographer who had accompanied them fled after only a few days, leaving Grace to do her own typing for the first time during her literary career,<sup>28</sup> and probably to wash her own handkerchiefs as well.

Her adventures in the desert enabled Grace to create a setting that rises above a contrived romantic plot to provide an important documentation of Hopi village life. Her keen appreciation of Hopi customs and craftsmanship is apparent both in her novel and in an article entitled “Experiences in the Desert” that she wrote for *The Lookout*, a Chattanooga society



*Carmel residents pose on the beach about 1909. Top (left to right)  
Charmian London, Alice MacGowan and Grace MacGowan  
Cooke. Bottom: George Sterling, Jimmy Hopper, Jack London  
and Carrie Sterling.*





magazine. Although she and the children cooked, ate, slept, and wrote in a one-room Indian house, the novelty of their situation kept them constantly stimulated. They frequently observed Indian dances and ceremonials on the mesa, taking advantage of opportunities not available to the casual tourist.

On the way out of Oraibi they stopped at Ganado to spend three days as the guests of J. L. Hubbel, the world's most extensive dealer in Navajo rugs. His log and adobe house with its big stone fireplace was "richly beautiful with its rug-covered floor, its walls a tapestry of good paintings, admirably chosen photographs, and its ceiling a treasure of Indian baskets set in lines between the big beams."<sup>29</sup> Many of the paintings had been commissioned by Hubbel, who sent artists out to obtain red chalk drawings of every tribe and type of Pueblo Indian and to document scenes of a way of life that was fast disappearing.

One cold, rainy afternoon Grace MacGowan Cooke sat in the warehouse observing Hubbel and his assistants bale rugs for shipment. "One after another rugs that would have charmed you, combinations of the natural colors of white, black, gray and the brown goats' wool, conservative splashes of good dye judiciously placed, square after square was held up, its weave classified as 'fair,' 'good,' 'excellent,' its weight given and its value set down. The rain fell outside, the big brown room was a riot of color on its floor and over the boxes and chairs."<sup>30</sup>

Grace's fascination with the operation at Ganado extended to J. L. Hubbel himself, whom she studied "covertly as wielders of the pen have a trick of doing." Although she insisted the man and his surroundings were "quite too romantic for any writer to put into a book,"<sup>31</sup> put them into a book she did, with an overlay of her own characters and plot. The result was *The Joy Bringer*, published in 1913 by Doubleday, Page & Company.

While Grace was in Hopi country, Alice MacGowan and Garnet Holme were writing the play

*Chattanooga*, a dramatization of Alice's novel *The Sword in the Mountains*, a Civil War story set in Chattanooga and on nearby Walden's Ridge. In this enterprise they also consulted by mail Emma Bell Miles, the writer who had originally assisted with the novel and done sketches to illustrate it, and Caroline Wood Morrison. Some of Mrs. Morrison's suggestions were incorporated into the play.<sup>32</sup>

Grace successfully completed her novel with very little help from Alice, and must have gained confidence from its success. Eventually she and Alice reconciled their differences, however, writing together *The Straight Road* (1917), *Wild Apples* (1918), and *The Trail of the Little Wagon* (1928). Collaboration was apparently an essential part of their creative process, whether it was undertaken together or with other writers.

Caroline Wood Morrison, with whom Grace wrote *William and Bill*, described her relationship with the MacGowans in a paper she gave to the North Chattanooga Book Club in 1913:

Many have asked me about collaboration. I can tell you about the MacGowan-Cookes, who always worked together or with a partner. They had an office, a stenographer, tables, books of reference. Someone wrote the story first by herself, then laid it out like a subject for the operating table. Paragraph by paragraph they went over it, often cutting whole pages up into puzzle pieces and refitting them — sentence by sentence — the last part of a chapter often coming first or being put at the beginning of another chapter altogether. They worked from morning until midnight, stopping only for meals and an afternoon drive. After dinner they read aloud the finished work. Often they would tear up a page, call in the stenographer, redictate it to her and go at something else while she typed it. It was delightful work for me. I thoroughly enjoyed it. As literary collaborators they were charming, sympathetic, and invariably wise.<sup>33</sup>

The MacGowan sisters were not awarded the lasting recognition accorded to some writers in the colony at Carmel-by-the-Sea, but they achieved greater



*Alice MacGowan was  
photographed by her sister's  
grandson, Leon Wilson,  
about 1932.*



financial success. Over a period of many years they comfortably supported themselves and two children on the income from their novels, which sold well, and from stories, articles, and poems appearing regularly in a wide variety of popular magazines.

Often their subjects were surprisingly adventurous. In *The Power and the Glory* Grace wrote about cotton mill working conditions. *Wild Apples* was the story of a young woman who chose to bear an illegitimate child and make a life with it. In both these novels the MacGowan sisters took a feminist viewpoint.<sup>34</sup> They wrote a series of stories for *Everybody's Magazine* exploring the racial question in the South. Grace assembled valuable ethnic material for her Hopi novel, as did Alice for her three books set in the Cumberland mountains of Tennessee.

Certainly the MacGowan sisters contributed substantially to the emergence of women writers in the early twentieth century. As residents of the Carmel

writers' colony, which has been described as one of the forcing beds for the renaissance in American literature of the 1920's,<sup>35</sup> the sisters contributed to the development of other writers as well. They were active in the Forest Theater Society from its founding in the spring of 1910. Alice MacGowan took the part of Astar, a Princess of Amalek, and Helen Cooke portrayed Michal, daughter of Saul, in the first production, Constance Skinner's *David*, on July 9, 1910.<sup>36</sup>

After Helen Cooke married Harry Leon Wilson, author of *Ruggles of Red Gap*, in 1912, Alice and Grace served as his editors. Although the Wilsons were divorced in 1927, they had two children, Leon and Charis, who live in California today. In 1940 Grace and Alice assisted them with the completion and publication of *When In The Course*, a novel by Harry Leon Wilson left unfinished at his death in June of 1939.<sup>37</sup>

When Grace MacGowan Cooke died in 1944, Fred

Bechdolt wrote, "Among the most lasting of the memories she left behind are a gentle voice and gentle ways, and a great patience." Three years later when Alice died on March 10, 1947 at the age of 89, Bechdolt recalled her vivid personality: "She was never uninteresting. She was always eager. And, above all, she was always kindly."<sup>38</sup> The MacGowan girls from Tennessee had come a long way both in distance and in time, leaving behind them a trail of stories, poems, articles, and books that spanned half a century.

The photographs of Miss Alice MacGowan, Mrs. Grace MacGowan Cooke and the bungalow at Carmel are from *The Lookout* magazine. The group portrait of the MacGowan sisters on the beach with Jack London is courtesy of The Book Club of California. The photo of Alice MacGowan in old age was made available by Leon Wilson.

## Notes

1. *Chattanooga Times*, August 9, 1944.
2. Ted Durein, "Colorful Carmelite is Dead" (miscellaneous clipping dated June, 1944)
3. The MacGowan sisters did not formally acknowledge the contributions of Emma Bell Miles to these books, although Alice dedicated *The Wiving of Lance Cleaverage* to her. In her letters to Anna Ricketson, Mrs. Miles stated that the MacGowans had given her a typewriter for assisting them with *Judith of the Cumberlands*; references to this assistance also appeared in the *Chattanooga papers*. Descriptive passages and characters in the work of Emma Bell Miles so closely resemble material used in these three novels that it seems appropriate to acknowledge the contributions of Mrs. Miles, even though the MacGowans did not.
4. Alice MacGowan, *The Sword in the Mountains* (New York, Grosset & Dunlap, 1910), pp. v-vi.
5. *Chattanooga Times*, February 18, 1887, p. 10.
6. Grace MacGowan Cooke, *Journal* (The Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California, 1909-1915), n. p.
7. *Chattanooga Times*, April 23, 1908, p. 6.
8. *Chattanooga News*, March 16, 1907, p. 1.
9. Mark Schorer, *Sinclair Lewis: An American Life* (New York, Dell Publishing Co., 1961), p. 112.
10. *Ibid.*, p. 113.
11. *The Nautilus*, IX (May, 1907), p. 9.
12. *Chattanooga Times*, March 17, 1907, p. 1.
13. *Ibid.*, p. 1.
14. *Ibid.*, pp. 1-2. Both sisters may have been more seriously hurt than was indicated by newspaper accounts. In his letter to me of November 14, 1979, Leon Wilson speculates that Grace and Alice broke their backs in that fire, as they were "conspicuously bent forward" the rest of their lives.
15. *The Nautilus* was a monthly with national circulation. It promoted the healthy-minded, positive attitudes of the New Thought movement, but also tended to exploit religious and dietary fads. An example is Grace MacGowan Cooke's article in the issue of January, 1908, on "The Spiritual Meaning of Fletcherism" — Fletcherism meaning a method of chewing food thoroughly as proposed by one Horace Fletcher.
16. *The Nautilus*, IX (May, 1907), p. 9.
17. *The Nautilus*, IX (October, 1907), p. 6; and X (February, 1908), p. 6.
18. *The Nautilus*, X (March, 1908), p. 2.
19. *Chattanooga Times*, April 21, 1908, p. 4.
20. Schorer, *Sinclair Lewis*, pp. 145-46.
21. Franklin Walker, *The Seacoast of Bohemia* (Salt Lake City, Peregrine Smith, Inc., 1973), p. 65; *The Lookout*, III (September 4, 1909), n. p.
22. Sinclair Lewis, "I'm an old Newspaperman Myself," *Cosmopolitan* April 1947, p. 155; Grace MacGowan Cooke, *Journal*.
23. *The Nautilus*, XI (August, 1909), p. 32; and XI (September, 1909), p. 2.
24. Lewis, "I'm an Old Newspaperman Myself," p. 155.
25. Cooke, *Journal*.
26. Schorer, *Sinclair Lewis*, p. 151.
27. Cooke, *Journal*.
28. *The Lookout*, IX (August 10, 1912), p. 269.
29. Grace MacGowan Cooke, "Experiences in the Desert," *The Lookout*, XV (July 12, 1913), n. p.
30. *Ibid.*
31. *Ibid.*
32. Cooke, *Journal*.
33. *Chattanooga Times*, c. 1938 (miscellaneous clipping).
34. Leon Wilson to Kay Gaston, November 14, 1979, p. 3.
35. Michael Orth, "Ideality to Reality: The Founding of Carmel," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, XLVIII (September, 1969), p. 195.
36. *The Lookout*, V (July 9, 1910), n. p.
37. Grace MacGowan Cooke to Leon and Charis Wilson, February 12, 17, & 29, 1940, Bancroft Library, Berkeley, California. These letters relate to the publication of *When In the Course*. In his letter of November 14, 1979, to me, Leon Wilson states that the novel was readied for publication by Alice and Grace because of their "long-understood, informal relationship" with his father's novels. The editorial relationship was described to him by Grace after Harry Leon Wilson's death.
38. Schorer, *Sinclair Lewis*, p. 148; *Carmel Pine Cone-Cymbal*, March 14, 1947.





*The Channel Heights Housing Project, San Pedro, California, about 1942.*



# City Planning and the Federal Government in World War II

## THE LOS ANGELES EXPERIENCE

One important topic in American urban history that has attracted recent attention is the development of city-federal relations in the twentieth century. Several studies provide a close analysis of the response of the national government to various local demands and needs. Particularly significant are Daniel J. Elazar's perceptive articles on intergovernmental activity, Blake McKelvey's treatment of the changing relationships between metropolitan areas and the federal government, Harry N. Scheiber's assessment of national urban programs, and Mark I. Gelfand's excellent study of city-federal affairs from 1933 to 1965.<sup>1</sup> Except for Gelfand's work, however, these studies have little to say about the crucial role of the national government in city planning during the Second World War. The war years provided a rich opportunity for local planners and federal officials to establish programs that could serve as a basis for postwar metropolitan renewal.<sup>2</sup> Probably in no other urban center was long-range, general planning given the vigorous support that it received in Los Angeles. Municipal authorities, professional planners, and

civic leaders confidently looked to Washington for new aid programs to finance public works and urban redevelopment.

Los Angeles city planning experienced significant changes during the 1930s depression. The city engineer had assumed primary responsibility for federal work-relief programs and local subdivision regulation. This authority led to an erosion of the Planning Department's functions and responsibilities. In the process, public works projects were not arranged and coordinated according to a general plan of community development.<sup>3</sup> "Los Angeles developed along no preconceived lines of procedure, with no rhyme or reason to guide," William H. Schuchardt, vice-president of the planning commission, bluntly told a charter revision committee in December, 1940. "Such planning as had been done was sporadic and partial with no attempt at cooperation between the various groups responsible for some one phase of development."<sup>4</sup> Faced with this deplorable situation, the charter committee, composed of leading business and professional people, drafted a set of amendments designed to enlarge the scope and authority of public planners in Los Angeles. Passed by the electorate in May, 1941, the amendments created a new city planning department, provided for a director of planning to administer the agency, and established a coordinating board composed of the mayor and principal de-

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*"When the war ceases, Los Angeles must . . . assist in helping hundreds of thousands of people from a war economy to a new and satisfactory peace economy."*

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partment chiefs.<sup>5</sup> The planning commission selected Charles B. Bennett, who had come to Los Angeles in 1940 from Milwaukee where he had supervised the Board of Public Land Commissioners, to be the new planning director. Bennett headed the coordinating board and was responsible for the preparation of a master plan for the city's physical development.<sup>6</sup>

Los Angeles authorities, however, could not agree on the proper role of economic considerations in metropolitan planning. The beginning of World War II quickly ended this dilemma. President Franklin D. Roosevelt's program of military mobilization led to a great expansion of industrial firms in Los Angeles, San Diego, and San Francisco. Los Angeles, with its big aircraft plants and climate suited to year-round testing and production, received large orders for planes and other military hardware. By September, 1943 the metropolis had won over \$8.5 billion in war production contracts. The aircraft and shipbuilding industries attracted thousands of newcomers to Los Angeles, especially large numbers of racial minorities. Employment in Los Angeles County rose from 1,198,000 in April, 1940 to 1,600,000 by June, 1944. The county's aircraft industry employed more workers than all other manufacturing plants combined.<sup>7</sup>

City planners greeted these developments with considerable apprehension. They were gloomy about achieving a peacetime urban economy free of widespread unemployment in the midst of productive

capacity. Only the demands of the war provided work for the newcomers; it followed that mass idleness would mark the transition from war to peace in the metropolis. "When the war ceases, Los Angeles must . . . assist in helping hundreds of thousands of people from a war economy to a new and satisfactory peace economy," planning commissioners Remsen D. Bird and William H. Schuchardt told Mayor Fletcher Bowron in 1942. "An important public works program, whether financed by government or by private capital, but one that should be of lasting value, is a possibility . . . in this vital and, we think, necessary adjustment."<sup>8</sup> The California State Planning Board likewise saw the major postwar problem as one of "providing useful employment for all our people." This, they agreed, was essentially a responsibility for planning that should be centered in qualified government organizations.<sup>9</sup>

Few federal agencies were better equipped to instruct cities on postwar adjustment than the National Resources Planning Board (NRPB). It had established an Urban Section in 1941 with the responsibility to see that municipal affairs be emphasized in all areas of national policy. Staffed with lawyers, economists, planning consultants, and other experts, the board assumed the lead in proclaiming the necessity of the nation being ready for the period of demobilization and reconversion to peacetime functions.<sup>10</sup> "After planning to win the war the most important planning problem is that of avoiding an economic dislocation at the termination of the war," stated the board in its annual report on resources development transmitted to the President in December, 1941. "That task takes the form, in part, of planning a course of action that will induce a continued high level of productivity, and, in part, of planning for the many elements that must be included in any program of economic security."<sup>11</sup> Conditions in Los Angeles illustrated this concern. After closely studying south-

ern California's wartime economy, the board's Pacific Southwest regional office in 1942 predicted a large surplus labor supply in the Los Angeles area with the reduction of aircraft production and shipbuilding at the close of the war. Returning veterans would also be looking for new jobs. The board pointed out that public works projects could provide temporary employment until surplus plant capacity could be converted to new domestic uses. Furthermore, the arrival of workers in unincorporated county districts had placed considerable strains on existing community facilities. The board stressed the need for new public services and better highway systems in these suburban areas.<sup>12</sup>

More important to the NRPB was the function of programming in large-scale city rebuilding. It pointed out that the physical facilities and equipment needed to provide essential services were variously termed public works or "public improvements." Programming involved the scheduling of public improvements according to relative need and available financial resources. This procedure, argued the board, necessitated the application of "progressive planning" for measuring projects in terms of their relation to postwar community growth. Charles S. Ascher, director of the Urban Section, advised cities not to "rush in with projects" that simply repeated or perpetuated "bad patterns of the past — either physical or institutional." He urged that public works be closely related to "rough sketches of the directions and forms which community development should take."<sup>13</sup>

The California State Planning Board agreed. It invited Arthur G. Coons, professor of economics at the Claremont Colleges and the Los Angeles representative of the NRPB, to conduct research on the industrial and physical growth of Los Angeles for the preparation of long-term plans. One of the aims of the study was to assess the impact of the war on the

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*"The future position of Los Angeles among the great cities of the world will be largely determined by how we plan and how intelligently we put our plans into operation. . . ."*

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region and point out major environmental problems. With the help of a research economist from the state planning agency, Coons closely examined traffic patterns, housing conditions, and governmental services. Published in 1942, the survey revealed serious deficiencies in local physical facilities. Especially alarming were congested streets and highways, insufficient housing, few recreational centers, and inadequate sewage disposal. The two economists urged the preparation of a backlog of public works to meet Los Angeles' wartime and postwar needs.<sup>14</sup>

Similar disruptions of public facilities occurred in cities across the nation. Wartime mobilization had aggravated housing shortages and traffic congestion.<sup>15</sup> These problems, along with a deterioration of basic municipal services such as fire and police protection, aroused much concern in Washington. Greatly enlarged by New Deal programs, the federal government responded more quickly than it had in previous administrations to major developments in urban centers. President Roosevelt worried about the possibility of widespread unemployment and inadequate local services after the war. Drawing on the 1942 annual report of the NRPB, he recommended to Congress the enactment of legislation to provide funds for local and state governments in the preparation of public works programs. Representative Walter Lynch of New York introduced a "Federal Aid Planning Act" in May, 1943. The bill authorized



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*The county plan provided for an expanded system of freeways designed to permit the movement of auto traffic throughout the metropolis with greater speed, safety and efficiency.*

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the President to advance \$75 million to state and local agencies for public works planning. More importantly, the measure required that federal aid be advanced only for the processing of those projects which, when constructed, would be in accord with a long-term plan for community, regional, or state development.<sup>16</sup>

Municipal authorities and professional planners in Los Angeles had no quarrel with this arrangement; they shared the conviction of other big-city administrations that the changes brought by the war offered a better opportunity than had existed before for integrating social and economic factors into the planning process. Since 1900 the aim of public improvements was to meet the human and commercial needs of rapidly industrializing cities and promote the growth of local economies. New Deal relief programs reinterpreted these goals to place emphasis on putting unemployed people to work.<sup>17</sup> This income redistribution reappeared as a new matter of economic equity and human opportunities in the wartime designs of city planners. "There is an increasing tendency on the part of the planner to begin his work now with a study of the economic and social influences at work in the community," observed the NRPB in January, 1943. "As a result, the plans are beginning to include recommendations to establish . . . a program for full employment of the area's population based on a full utilization of all its resources."<sup>18</sup>

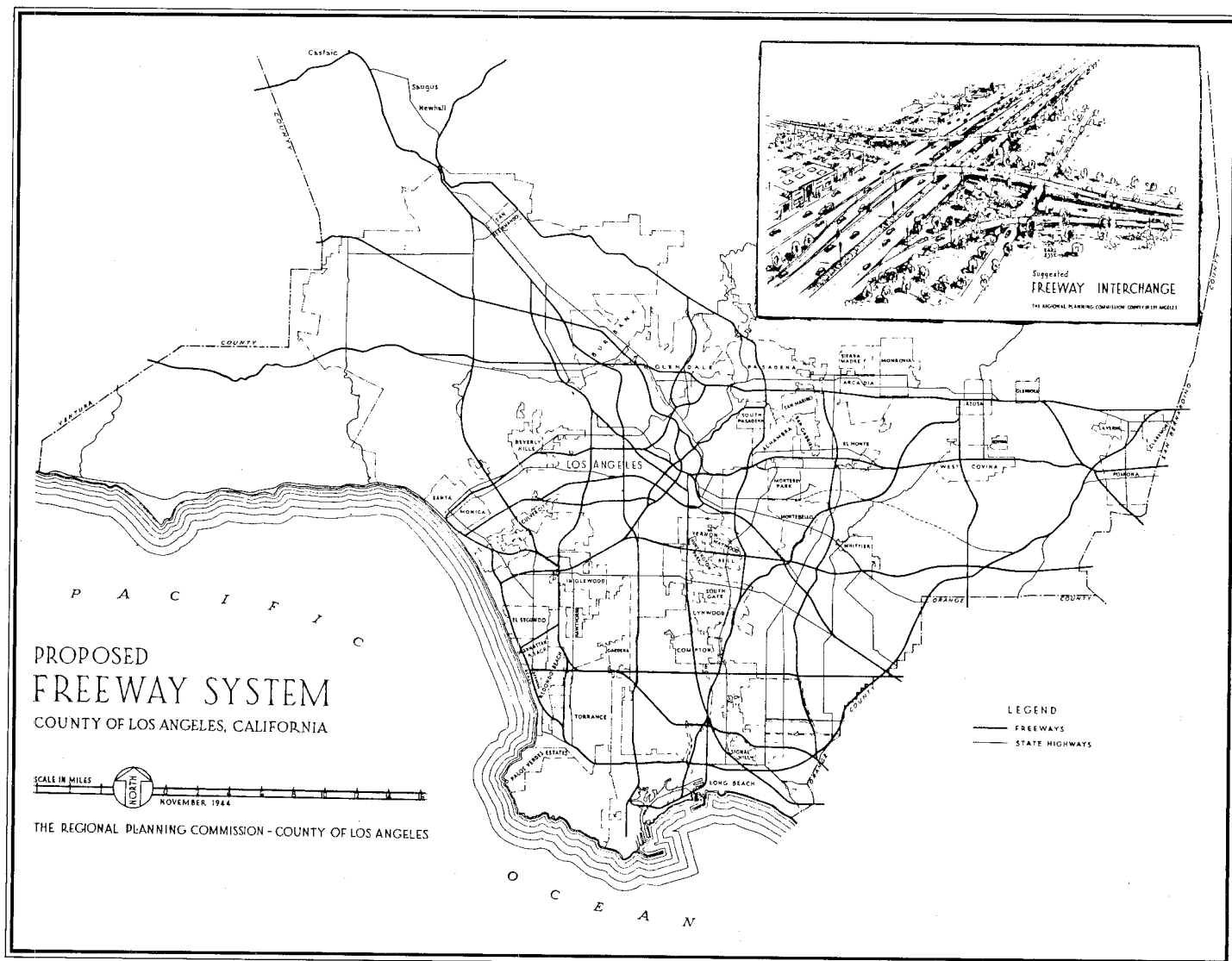
This activity was accompanied by constant support from the NRPB. The agency vigorously promoted planning by state and local governments, continued to study regional economic trends, and maintained its committees on such specific resources as land, industry, transportation, and urbanism. Many congressmen, however, resented these varied activities of the board. Others denounced its proposal for a comprehensive national program of health, education, unemployment insurance, and old age assistance as "socialistic." These critics sponsored a bill that abolished the NRPB in August, 1943. But by this time city governments from coast to coast had embraced the board's gospel of wartime planning and started preparations for the period of readjustment.<sup>19</sup>

Few cities matched Los Angeles' wartime concern with postwar urbanization. "Our planning," Mayor Bowron announced, "must be intelligent, constructive, and based on all known factors . . . The future position of Los Angeles among the great cities of the world will be largely determined by how we plan and how intelligently we put our plans into operation following the war."<sup>20</sup> Public planners could not have said it any better. Differences existed among them, however. The businessmen who sat on the planning commission accepted urban sprawl as inevitable and hoped merely to make the old city more liveable. Professional planners, especially those with formal training in landscape architecture such as William Schuchardt, L. Deming Tilton, and Milton Breivogel, envisioned a fundamental reorientation of Los Angeles' growth along a more orderly and controlled dispersal. They advocated greater government regulation of land use in various residential areas.<sup>21</sup> Both groups, however, agreed that new programs of federal aid would be needed to achieve any broad metropolitan reconstruction. "Those cities that participate first, and to any great degree, in Federal aid will be the ones that are ready to go when

the signal is given," stated planning director Charles B. Bennett in 1943. "We won't be ready to go until we have precise plans and specifications available for bids."<sup>22</sup> With a 1943 budget increase from \$77,000 to \$133,000, Los Angeles planners outlined a master scheme of metropolitan development needed to evaluate the desirability and validity of improvement projects. The plans included surveys of population dispersal and industrial growth, maps indicating

shortages of basic community facilities, and various land use proposals.<sup>23</sup>

At the same time, city department heads began processing a projected \$707 million list of postwar public works projects to determine which ones should have priority on the basis of need and the city's ability to finance them with local revenues. Mayor Bowron in April, 1943 told a Senate subcommittee on military affairs that 300,000 war work-







*Charles B. Bennett, Director  
of the Los Angeles City  
Department of Planning*

ers and their families had entered metropolitan Los Angeles since 1940. Close investigations by the local Housing Authority had revealed numerous cases of overcrowding and inadequate sanitary facilities, particularly among black families in the central city. It was the responsibility of the federal government, Bowron asserted, to help city officials provide these workers with adequate housing and essential services.<sup>24</sup> The public works program included proposals for sanitary sewers, new sewage disposal plants, public health buildings, additional fire stations, and street improvements. Planning director Bennett worked closely with department chiefs on the coordinating board in relating these projects to land development schemes in the areas of housing, transportation, and recreation.<sup>25</sup>

Complementing this activity was the work of the Los Angeles County Regional Planning Commission. During 1941 and 1942 the agency helped local housing officials, the city planning department, and

the Federal Public Housing Authority conduct surveys to determine sites for accommodations to house thousands of war workers and their families. By mid-1943, fifteen federally owned housing developments had been built near suburban factories and in the harbor area.<sup>26</sup> Especially impressive was architect Richard J. Neutra's Channel Heights Project located above San Pedro. This 160-acre hillside site enjoyed a splendid view of the Pacific and had only 3.7 families per acre. It also provided schools, a health center, shops, nurseries, park area, and a community hall.<sup>27</sup> These facilities, along with adequate sewage systems, were not available in some of the other public housing developments. The Regional Planning Commission singled out federal housing policies for special criticism for "creating physical and social problems which demand carefully thought out corrective plans to be prepared to replan and salvage whole communities. . . ." <sup>28</sup> It prepared a \$679 million list of community improvements which it estimated would employ some 250,000 persons in the first year after the war. This program included proposals for new sewer systems, government buildings and schools, acquisition of additional park sites, flood control works, and highway construction. The commission, after a series of public hearings, also drafted master plans on land use, recreational development, and freeways. The plans, among other functions, were to serve as a means of appraising the merits of various projects in the public works program.<sup>29</sup>

Very important was the freeway scheme to alleviate Los Angeles' growing traffic congestion. Local and state officials, with funds from the Works Progress Administration and the Public Works Administration, had completed construction of the Arroyo Seco Parkway (later renamed the Pasadena Freeway) in 1941 and opened units of the Cahuenga Freeway (later a section of the Hollywood Freeway) in 1940 and 1942.<sup>30</sup> The county plan provided for an

expanded system of freeways designed to permit the movement of auto traffic throughout the metropolis with greater speed, safety, and efficiency. It also indicated the stages in which the new highways might be developed according to future residential dispersal.<sup>31</sup>

This expansion of county planning coincided with a major change in the state program, resulting in part from the federal government's emphasis on providing new employment after the war for returning veterans and workers made jobless by the closing of wartime factories. The California legislature in 1943 replaced the state planning board with a postwar planning agency specifically concerned with problems of readjustment. "Sharing the responsibility with the local communities and with the national government, the State must be prepared to take emergency measures, if necessary," proclaimed the new Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission. "There must be adequate plans for the protection of groups of people against the hardship and suffering which could result from the lack of prompt and satisfactory expansion of the peacetime economy."<sup>32</sup> The agency prepared reports on manufacturing and population trends of urban areas, investigated the possibilities of broadening educational and recreational services, and did special research designed to expand service industries and develop vocational training programs.<sup>33</sup> It also promoted public works planning among city and county governments. The state legislature in 1944 boosted this activity by appropriating \$10 million of state funds for the preparation of plans and specifications for postwar community facilities.<sup>34</sup>

Public works projects, however, could only provide employment for a relatively small percentage of all those Angelenos who would need new jobs after the war. Secondly, Los Angeles planners, despite the federal government's insistence on a locally prepared comprehensive plan, had not integrated their land use

schemes into a flexible general plan for the entire metropolitan region.<sup>35</sup> It would thus be difficult for government authorities to evaluate construction proposals and choose the best sites for new public works.

More disturbing were the political barriers that kept professional planners on the rim of metropolitan decisionmaking. Land use policies ultimately required the approval of city councilmen and county supervisors. These politicians, mindful of the great expense in drastic physical rearrangements, might not allocate huge outlays of public revenues for the building of specific facilities that they saw as poorly located or of inadequate capacity. Very concerned about this possibility, the *Los Angeles Times* in 1943 stressed the important role of the city council in postwar planning and urged more cooperation between the mayor and council "in order to achieve the most good for the greatest number of citizens."<sup>36</sup> Furthermore, the fragmentation of jurisdictions and the number of other local agencies that had stakes in metropolitan development could easily hinder the application of public works plans and regulations. "Here . . . we have a metropolitan area of which we are all rightly and justly proud, the third largest concentration of population in America," Mayor Bowron told a meeting of prominent Los Angeles attorneys in November, 1943. "But in this area we have numerous local political boundary lines, separating jurisdictions of cities and county areas, each with a legal right to plan, impose regulations, grant franchises, license, zone, and to a limited extent, control and regulate transportation and traffic upon streets and highways."<sup>37</sup>

This multiplicity of governmental units suggested that agreement to carry out various postwar projects might come very slowly, if at all. Public works programs, on the other hand, promised more cooperation among local, state, and federal agencies. The



expectations of widespread unemployment and severe shortage of community facilities in the reconversion period had imbued Los Angeles planning with a social consciousness and intense desire to improve the quality of urban life that had sometimes been lacking in the past. In this atmosphere, neighborhood conservation and central city redevelopment became major areas of postwar plans. Like other big cities during the 1930s that had exported its middle- and upper middle-class population to suburban communities,<sup>38</sup> Los Angeles had blighted districts and slums that sapped its municipal treasury and victimized many inner-city residents, particularly large numbers of ethnic minorities. "Those of us who live in Los Angeles know there is something wrong with the land use of the city," industrialist Sumner Spaulding informed a subcommittee of the Senate Special Committee on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning in 1943. "We have large blighted areas, large slum areas, and others just above the blighted state . . . If we could rebuild these areas so they are satisfactory places for people to live, we have established an insurance for the downtown area, and made a place where people can live healthy, satisfactory lives."<sup>39</sup>

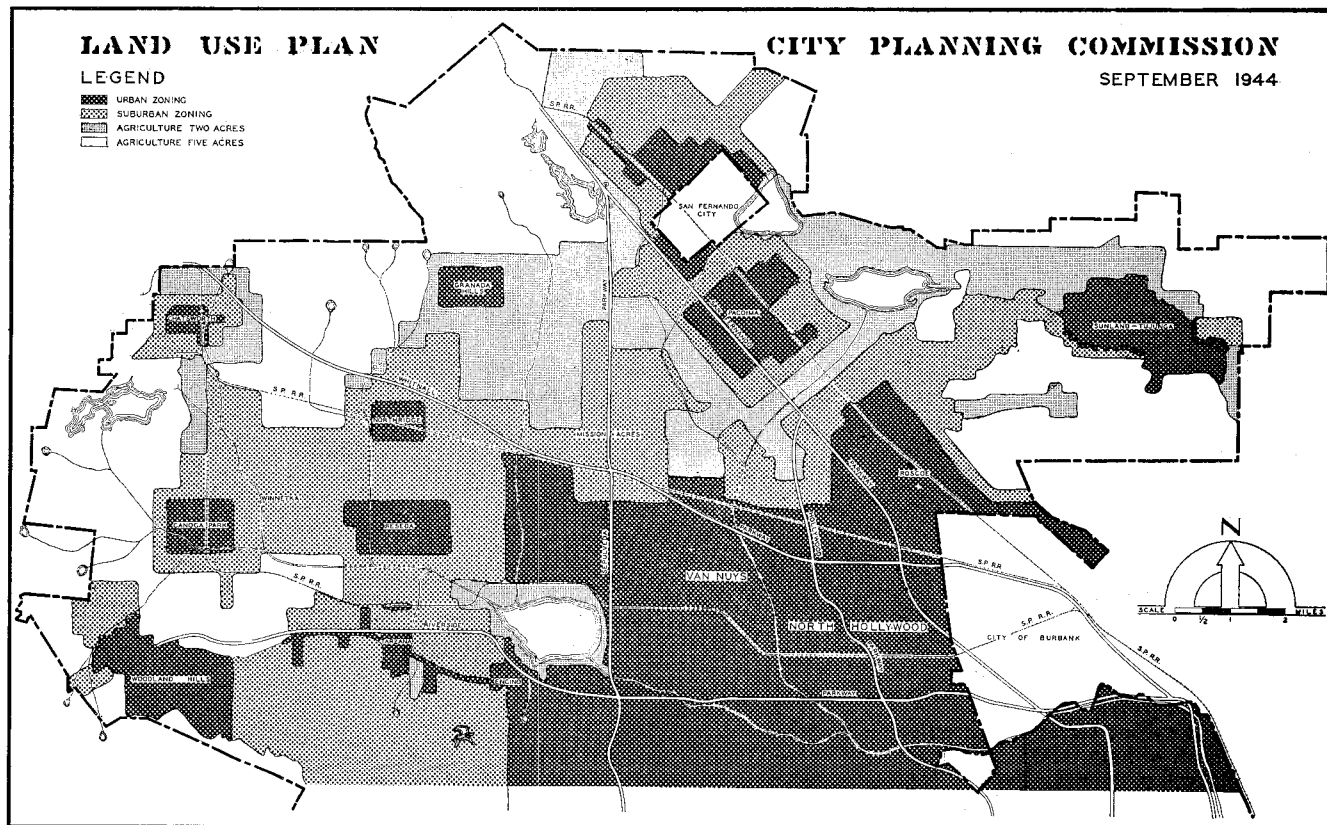
Proposals for achieving these goals found their way into federal legislation. Especially important was the program drafted by Guy Greer, the senior economist of the Federal Reserve System, and Alvin H. Hansen, professor of economics at Harvard University. In a pamphlet published by the National Planning Association, Greer and Hansen recommended the creation of a federal agency to make loans or grants of federal funds for the elimination of slums and blighted areas. The new urban agency would also provide technical aid to local planning commissions.<sup>40</sup> With the help of Alfred Bettman, a Cincinnati authority on zoning law and chairman of the legislative committee of the American Institute of

Planners, the two economists put their proposals in a "Federal Urban Redevelopment Act." Senator Elbert Thomas of Utah introduced the bill in April, 1943. Two months later the Urban Land Institute, the research affiliate of the National Association of Real Estate Boards, persuaded Senator Robert F. Wagner of New York to present the "Neighborhood Development Act." It authorized the National Housing Agency to make loans to cities or counties for the purchase of land and buildings designated for redevelopment.<sup>41</sup>

The Thomas bill attracted considerable support from public planners in Los Angeles. They believed that the leprous decay and human disorganization associated with badly blighted districts demanded a nationwide housing and redevelopment program based on comprehensive physical planning. The Thomas measure provided for the establishment of an Urban Redevelopment Agency to administer the grant-in-aid program. All federal loans to cities, including those for public works projects and the acquisition of land, would be contingent upon the agency's approval of a local general plan with precise development proposals. Los Angeles planner Milton Breivogel confidently wrote that the bill would enable cities "to carry out substantial redevelopment projects in the blighted areas."<sup>42</sup>

Downtown bankers and realtors, however, found more to savor in the proposed Urban Land Institute measure also under consideration. Like business groups in other major central cities, they were worried about the spread of slums that threatened their investments in land and buildings. Redevelopment could also open up valuable but deteriorated sites for new corporate investment. Town Hall, a local organization of prominent businessmen and professionals, accordingly stated that governmental agencies would be forced to accept responsibility for redevelopment if private enterprise failed "to play

*A Land Use Plan for the San Fernando Valley in 1944 proposed that 66.2 square miles be zoned for urban uses.*



a major role in the initiation and execution of a program of urban development."<sup>43</sup> The Urban Land Institute bill contemplated this leading position for private business in central city rebuilding; municipalities would use federal funds to purchase badly rundown neighborhoods and then let commercial interests take care of the reconstruction. The bill also guaranteed local control of redevelopment projects.<sup>44</sup> Los Angeles businessmen, therefore, anxiously awaited this chance to initiate the city's rebuilding plans.

The opportunity came in 1943. City planning director Charles Bennett asked the Downtown Businessmen's Association to help his department

conduct exploratory studies of living conditions and physical facilities in blighted areas. The Association organized the Greater Los Angeles Citizens' Committee to examine the problem of slums and blight. The Citizens' Committee investigated Bunker Hill, a residential area on the northwest fringe of the downtown district. Their survey revealed substandard housing, inadequate sanitary facilities, falling property values, and sagging public services.<sup>45</sup> The planning department conducted further research on the population, commercial activity, and physical structures of other residential districts located near the central business core. Among the worst blighted areas were the Hazard Park district, Prospect Park

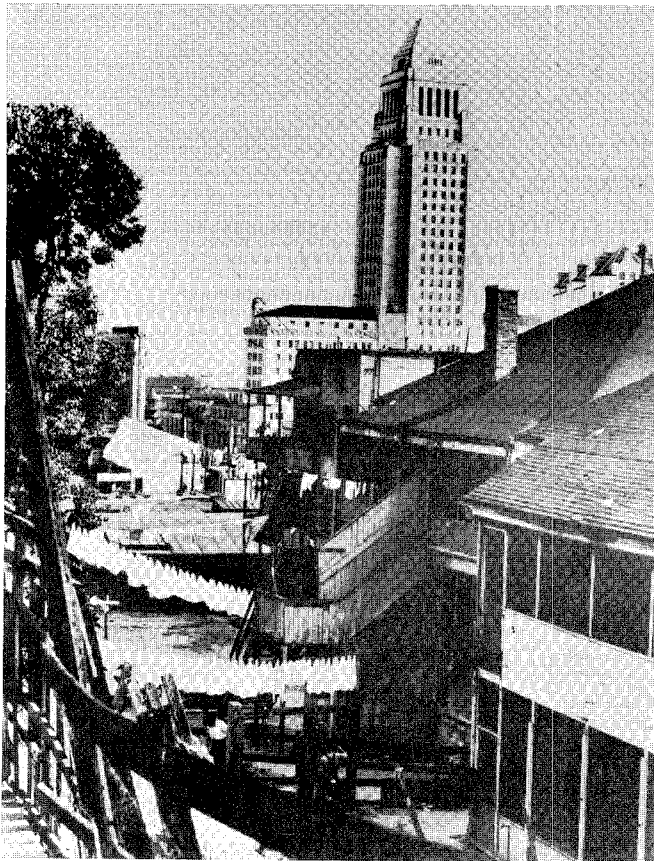


area, Chavez Ravine, and John Adams area. Overcrowded houses stood back to back on constricted lots in many neighborhoods and stores, warehouses and homes were haphazardly mixed. There was also a high incidence of communicable diseases and criminal activity. Such districts cost the municipality considerably more in services than it collected in taxes from them. City planners, without asking residents for advice on improving their neighborhoods, proceeded to draft schemes for the clearance and redevelopment of these deteriorated sections. The plans included proposals for the relocation of commercial establishments, building new single-family homes and apartment units, and reduction of street areas. Adequate provisions for schools and recreational facilities were also included in the plans.<sup>46</sup>

Fulfillment of this redevelopment program for central Los Angeles, as in other large cities, depended greatly on what the federal government would eventually do to assist urban reconstruction. Leading proponents of redevelopment in the planning fraternity anticipated a national program to eliminate residential blight and revitalize the economy of the inner city. Public housing reformers had a narrower perspective. "When the welfare organizations and labor unions that supported public housing looked at urban society," Mark I. Gelfand writes, "they saw the slums; when site planners and landscape architects looked at this same urban society, they saw the inappropriate street patterns, poor transportation facilities, obsolete business districts, and aging factories."<sup>47</sup> The end in view for professional planners was the rearrangement of land uses for better transportation, new commercial and industrial structures, and socially desirable residential areas. Housing reformers saw urban redevelopment solely as a way to destroy slums and provide suitable accommodations for families in every income group.<sup>48</sup> These competing views of urban rebuilding were dramatized in the hearings of a

subcommittee on housing and redevelopment of the Special Committee on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning. Because he had introduced a resolution calling for the creation of a Senate committee to study postwar housing problems, Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio was named chairman of the subgroup.<sup>49</sup> It held hearings in 1945 on various aspects of the housing situation including redevelopment. Among the large number of planners, businessmen, and housing experts appearing before the subcommittee was Cincinnati planner Alfred Bettman. He argued that it would be a "costly mistake" if urban redevelopment was "conceived of as the replanning and rebuilding of slum areas only or the replanning and rebuilding for housing only." Housing, Bettman insisted, should be considered as only one of several possible uses for cleared blighted areas.<sup>50</sup> The executive director of the National Association of Housing Officials, an organization composed of federal, state, and local authorities directly concerned with housing needs, strongly disagreed. "Granting the desirability of Federal aid to local public works as a valuable contribution to a sound national economy and to the attainment of full employment, I find no deep urge that can justify me in saying that the Federal Government should assume the major part of the obligation of rebuilding the industrial areas and the business districts and the transportation systems of American cities," asserted Hugh R. Pomeroy. "But I can find a valid national interest in the conditions under which the people of the Nation must live, and it is my view that urban redevelopment should begin with a program of slum clearance and neighborhood rebuilding that would have for its primary purpose the enabling of private developers, and public agencies, as necessary, to provide decent homes in decent neighborhoods for American families."<sup>51</sup>

Most public planners in Los Angeles supported Pomeroy's arguments. Their redevelopment



*Slum housing near  
Los Angeles City Hall, 1942*

schemes, however, could be exploited by those financial institutions and private builders anxious to invest their money in new shopping complexes and office facilities. One local newspaper editor spoke about the “old-fashioned notion that property rights are individual rights, not community rights.” The “proper function” of city planning, he insisted, was to “conserve and enhance property values.”<sup>52</sup> Most Los Angeles businessmen and their supporters in the city council would not have said it any differently. Urban rebuilding for them essentially meant profitable investment opportunities and the elimination of economic sickness afflicting the inner city. Planning officials, on the other hand, hoped to channel portions of future federal grants into ambitious programs to provide good housing and suitable living environment for less advantaged and poorer families. They accepted the necessity of educating Los Angeles’ economic and political leadership about the advantages of new viable communities in the central city. With the assistance of Town Hall, the planning department drafted a redevelopment bill and presented it to the state legislature in August, 1945.

Representatives of the League of California Cities sponsored the measure, and it became law the following month. The statute provided for a new redevelopment agency in each locality to assemble land and prepare sites for rebuilding. It also required cities to have both a planning commission and master plan before undertaking slum clearance. Local legislatures could not approve a redevelopment project unless the planning commission had first certified it for conformity with the city’s master plan. The redevelopment agency had, moreover, to show that adequate housing would be available for persons displaced by clearance operations.<sup>53</sup>

Confident that the Congress would eventually provide aid for redevelopment, local planners helped the Los Angeles Housing Authority conduct surveys of inner-city living conditions to determine those areas which would qualify for rebuilding under the new state law. Out of the surveys came more detailed reports on the city’s badly blighted districts.<sup>54</sup> The Housing Authority expected redevelopment to provide Los Angeles slum dwellers with adequate facilities; it estimated that there would be a \$25 million federally financed low-rent housing program for the city in the three year period following the war.<sup>55</sup> The planning department proceeded to incorporate its redevelopment schemes into a new master plan of housing for central Los Angeles. It showed the location of the worst areas of blight and proposed a long-range renewal program involving public and private enterprise. The plan designated some neighborhoods for extensive rehabilitation, others for complete clearance and redevelopment, and still others for protective action to keep them in good condition.<sup>56</sup>

No less important to government authorities and professional planners was effective regulation of Los Angeles’ suburban development. After closely studying the housing needs of California’s metropolitan



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*Planning advocates in California pointed out that the social and physical character of cities was greatly influenced by the wider regional distribution of population and resources.*

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centers, the State Reconstruction and Reemployment Commission concluded that Los Angeles County would require a minimum of 280,000 new homes during the five year period from 1945 to 1949.<sup>57</sup> "I appeal to you for help in connection with a critical housing shortage in Los Angeles," Mayor Bowron wrote President Roosevelt in March, 1945. "The situation is so serious that many persons including families of war workers and wives and children of servicemen and returning veterans are undergoing serious privations and many are in actual need."<sup>58</sup> Much of this needed construction would take place in those suburbs with large areas of vacant land. Furthermore, indiscriminate scattering of subdivisions had caught the metropolis without adequate schemes to guide peripheral growth. These conditions led the Regional Planning Commission to adopt land use plans which reserved appropriate areas for schools, recreational centers, and commercial districts.<sup>59</sup>

Equally important were special problems of war-time growth in the San Fernando Valley. Partly because of new industrial activity, the Valley's population had increased from 112,000 in 1940 to 165,000 by 1945 and was dispersed over an area of 212 square miles. Such a situation placed considerable strains on existing public services and highway facilities. The Los Angeles City Planning Commission in 1945, after several public meetings with representatives of local chambers of commerce, realty boards, and

other civic groups, adopted plans for the physical and social development of communities in the valley. They included proposals for sewage disposal systems, recreational facilities and schools, and community centers. The planning commission also presented a revised zoning ordinance for the entire city that consolidated many separate ordinances and regulations. Each of the residential districts in the valley was to be buffered from areas zoned for agriculture and industry by extensive greenbelts and parkways. The end in view was the development of existing residential areas into independent communities that were prohibited from spreading beyond a preplanned limit.<sup>60</sup>

Such designs for suburban Los Angeles mirrored the desire of leading public planners for more imaginative management of land use throughout metropolitan regions. Catherine Bauer, vice-president of the California Housing and Planning Association, an organization consisting of planners, labor leaders, lawyers, and state and local officials, forcefully described the situation: "It doesn't take a Garden City Utopian to see that the process of industrial decentralization has been tremendously speeded up by the war, and that a major concern of post-war planning and housing must be the integration and protection of outlying communities and even the development of entirely new towns."<sup>61</sup> Planning advocates in California pointed out that the social and physical character of cities was greatly influenced by the wider regional distribution of population and resources. "Suburban and rural slums and blight are increasing rapidly, and very little is being done either to prevent or remedy them," observed the Housing and Planning Association in 1944. It urged that the powers and techniques adopted for central redevelopment be also applied to the construction of socially desirable neighborhoods and new communities in outlying areas.<sup>62</sup>

This program, however, received little support in Washington. Mel Scott points out that in the 1940s “most Americans in public life . . . dodged the whole issue of metropolitan form. Culturally conditioned to problem-solving and socially rewarded for displaying short-term practicality, they felt more at ease adopting to well-recognized trends and working cautiously within the context of a business-dominated economy.”<sup>63</sup> The General Housing Bill well illustrated this disturbing situation. Introduced by Senators Taft, Wagner, and Allen J. Ellender in November of 1945, the measure proposed a broad housing program embodying some provisions of the Thomas and Urban Land Institute measures. It provided for a permanent National Housing Agency, authorized the agency to give financial assistance to city planning, provided federal aid for land acquisition in redevelopment programs, and expanded the public housing program by sanctioning the rehabilitation of older structures for lower-income families. The bill, however, gave little attention to suburban sprawl and avoided the problem of regulating new residential growth. It also ignored various proposals for new towns in regional planning.<sup>64</sup> Four years later the Congress passed a revised version of the Wagner-Ellender-Taft bill. This measure, too, committed the national government to no particular policy of metropolitan development and mainly provided a variety of aids to serve any local program.<sup>65</sup>

It thus remained the primary responsibility of local authorities to make the decisions necessary to achieve a decent and more orderly living environment. Despite the new postwar land use plans and strategies, older patterns of suburbanization and uncontrolled dispersal in the Los Angeles metropolitan area persisted into the 1950s. Many chances for regional regulation of urban sprawl would be lost in the competition among the central city, suburban municipalities, and urban county to provide a rapidly grow-

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*The postwar decade witnessed much help from Federal and State agencies in the development of flood control works, recreation, public housing, and interstate freeways.*

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ing population with essential public services.<sup>66</sup>

Wartime planning, however, represented a crucial stage in the developing federal-city partnership. The national government had exercised leadership in public works planning, promoted closer relations between local and state agencies, and stimulated the drafting of urban redevelopment programs. Los Angeles' involvement in this activity resulted from the expectations of considerable financial assistance after the war. City and county planners, while not encouraging federal domination of local reconstruction, realized that large programs of state and federal aid were vital to effectively meet the metropolis' new economic, social, and physical needs. The postwar decade witnessed much help from federal and state agencies in the development of flood control works, recreation, public housing, and interstate freeways.<sup>67</sup> Serious differences over inner-city rebuilding remained, however. Professional planners envisioned a marriage of private profit and public good in which pecuniary considerations would not overshadow low-income housing needs. Business-minded politicians and local financial elites, looking to Los Angeles' postwar economic interests, only wanted future federal monies to be directed into projects that would revitalize downtown commercial districts. Neither group, moreover, considered wide citizen participation important in the redevelopment process. The result in Los Angeles was the introduction



*Douglas Aircraft Company, Long Beach, California, 1945*





of the familiar practice of using federal funds to demolish stable neighborhoods, uproot minority families, and replace them with public buildings, office complexes, and expensive apartment dwellings.<sup>68</sup> This severe perversion of wartime redevelopment plans in the postwar years meant that it would be difficult, if not impossible, for socially responsive city planners and their allies in the national government to overcome the cold considerations and insatiable appetite of the urban marketplace.

The photograph on page 126 is courtesy of the Housing Authority, City of Los Angeles. The Freeway and Land Use plans are courtesy of the Los Angeles County and City Planning Commissions respectively. Charles Bennett's portrait is from the Los Angeles City Planning Commission's *Accomplishments, 1943*. The view of slum housing near City Hall is taken from Mel Scott, *Cities Are For People* (Los Angeles: 1942), p. 97; and the aerial of Douglas Aircraft Company was supplied by Douglas Aircraft.

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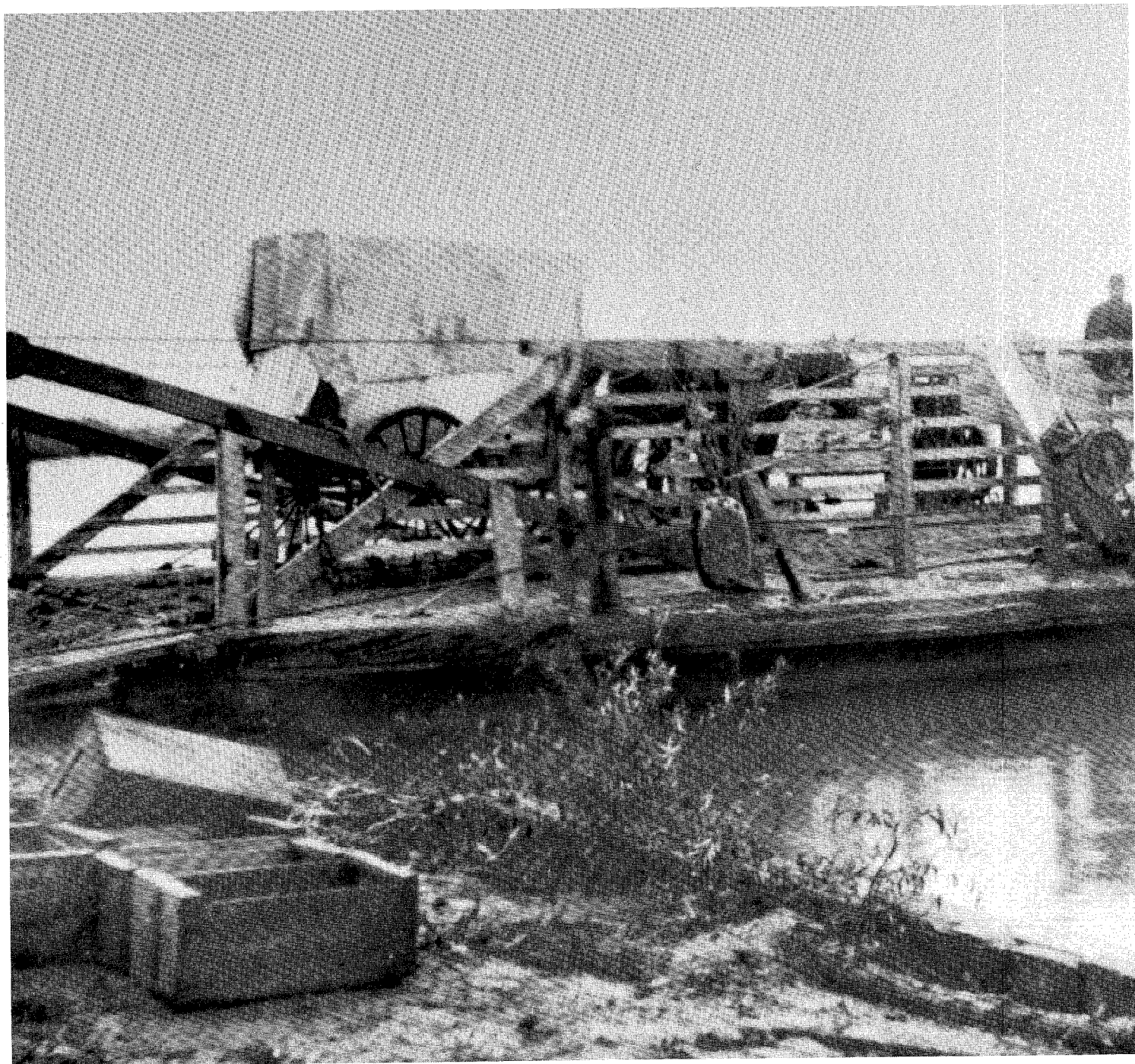


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44. National Housing Agency, *Assembly of Land for Urban Development and Redevelopment*, appendix; Gelfand, *Nation of Cities*, pp. 127-28.
45. Los Angeles City Planning Commission, *Accomplishments*, 1943, p. 11; Jamison, *Public Planning*, pp. 97-98, 127.
46. Los Angeles City Planning Commission, *Accomplishments*, 1944, p. 13; "Urban Redevelopment," *Planning 1945: Part 1: Proceedings of a Discussion Conference on Problems of Large Cities* (Chicago, 1945), pp. 57-59.
47. Gelfand, *Nation of Cities*, p. 130.
48. *Ibid.*, pp. 128-31.
49. J. Joseph Huthmacher, *Senator Robert F. Wagner and the Rise of Urban Liberalism* (New York, 1968), pp. 299-300.
50. U.S. Senate, Special Committee on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning, Subcommittee on Housing and Urban Redevelopment, *Hearings on Post-War Economic Policy and Planning*, part 9, 79th Cong., 1st Sess. (Washington, D.C., 1945), p. 1606.
51. *Ibid.*, part 11, p. 1739.
52. Wallace M. Morgan to Anne M. Mumford, June 14, 1941, Haynes Papers. Morgan was editor of the *Tujunga Record-Ledger*.
53. Town Hall, *Urban Redevelopment Legislation*, pp. 21-31; Los Angeles City Planning Commission, *Accomplishments*, 1945, pp. 26-27. By this time several states had adopted redevelopment laws. See Scott, *American City Planning*, pp. 380-81, 425-26.
54. Los Angeles City Planning Commission, *Accomplishments*, 1945, pp. 12, 14-18.
55. "Planning Groups: Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles," June 20, 1944, Box 6, Clinton Papers, p. 2.
56. Los Angeles City Planning Commission, *Accomplishments*, 1946, pp. 9, 17.
57. Housing Authority of the City of Los Angeles, *A Decent Home . . . An American Right*, p. 48.
58. Fletcher Bowron to President Franklin D. Roosevelt, March 5, 1945, Box 1, Bowron Papers. Since 1940 Los Angeles' population had increased from 1,504,277 to 1,769,651 in the city and from 2,785,643 to 3,456,227 in the county. Los Angeles City Planning Commission, *Accomplishments*, 1945, p. 7.
59. *Annual Report of the Regional Planning Commission . . . June 30, 1944*, pp. 4-5, 21; *Annual Report of the Regional Planning Commission . . . June 30, 1945*, pp. 7, 12-13.
60. Charles B. Bennett and Milton Breivogel, *Planning for the San Fernando Valley* (Los Angeles, 1945), pp. 5-12. The city council approved the new comprehensive zoning ordinance in March, 1946. See Earl O. Mills, "Los Angeles Again Pioneers in Zoning: Some Highlights of the New Comprehensive Zoning Ordinance adopted by the City Council of Los Angeles, March 7, 1946," *American City* 61 (April 1946): 113-14.
61. Catherine Bauer, "Urban Redevelopment: Crisis in Land Economics produces Hansen-Greer Plan and Others," (1943), Haynes Papers, p. 3.
62. California Housing and Planning Association, "Basic Principles for a Redevelopment Program," (1944), Haynes Papers, pp. 1-2; also see California Housing and Planning Association, Committee on Urban Redevelopment, *A Chart for Changing Cities* (San Francisco, 1944), pp. 4-5, 9.
63. Scott, *American City Planning*, p. 451.
64. Scott, *American City Planning*, p. 419; Gelfand, *Nation of Cities*, pp. 142-45, 147-48.
65. Gelfand, *Nation of Cities*, pp. 152-55.
66. Winston W. Crouch and Beatrice Dinerman, *Southern California Metropolis: A Study in Development of Government for a Metropolitan Area* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1964), pp. 196-99, 222-28.
67. Winston W. Crouch, *Intergovernmental Relations, Metropolitan Los Angeles: A Study in Integration*, vol. 15 (Los Angeles, 1954), pp. 4, 23-24, 33-37, 52-56; Arthur L. Grey, Jr., "Los Angeles: Urban Prototype," *Land Economics* 35 (August 1959): 236-38; John Anson Ford, *Thirty Explosive Years in Los Angeles County* (San Marino, 1961), pp. 47-48, 100-1, 159-60.
68. Bernard J. Friedman, *The Future of Old Neighborhoods: Rebuilding for a Changing Population* (Cambridge, Mass., 1964), pp. 143-48; Arnold Hylen, *Bunker Hill, a Los Angeles Landmark Recorded in Words and Pictures* (Los Angeles, 1976), pp. 42-45.



## From waterways to roadways in the



*The Alma, Fred C. Lauritzen's ferry at the landing above Rio Vista and near the mouth of Cache and Steamboat Sloughs, about 1900.*



# Sacramento Delta



Water carriers transported most of the traffic in commodities and people that arose or ended in California's Sacramento Delta until about 60 years ago.<sup>1</sup> Every village and most farms had access to the waterways that linked Sacramento and Stockton with San Francisco and Oakland, and the world beyond. Yet, the process by which roads in the Delta were changed from functioning as the complements of water-borne commerce to diverters of traffic from the river carriers is virtually forgotten, although the bridges, the all-weather roads and the vehicles that captured the traffic, and stilled river vessels, are very much in evidence today. To trace the evolution of the present circulatory system gives some balance to a popular perspective on the Sacramento Delta which has tended to be waterway-oriented, site-oriented and little cognizant of the roads as relics of the past.

The process by which trails and roads bound the segments of the lower Sacramento River region locally and externally deserves further examination.<sup>2</sup> These roads, like the artificial levees that transformed the tule swamp into productive land, were built and maintained by landowners. The ferries, too, were local enterprises for many years. The assumption of road maintenance and ferry operation by the counties and the role of local government in building bridges was modest until 1900. It grew apace after 1920, by which time motor vehicles had made serious inroads on the passenger and freight traffic of the water carriers. The public's insistence on better roads in this era resulted in the creation of highway maintenance departments and in the construction of the kind of axial roads which now thread the Delta from north to

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# LOWER SACRAMENTO RIVER AREA 1901

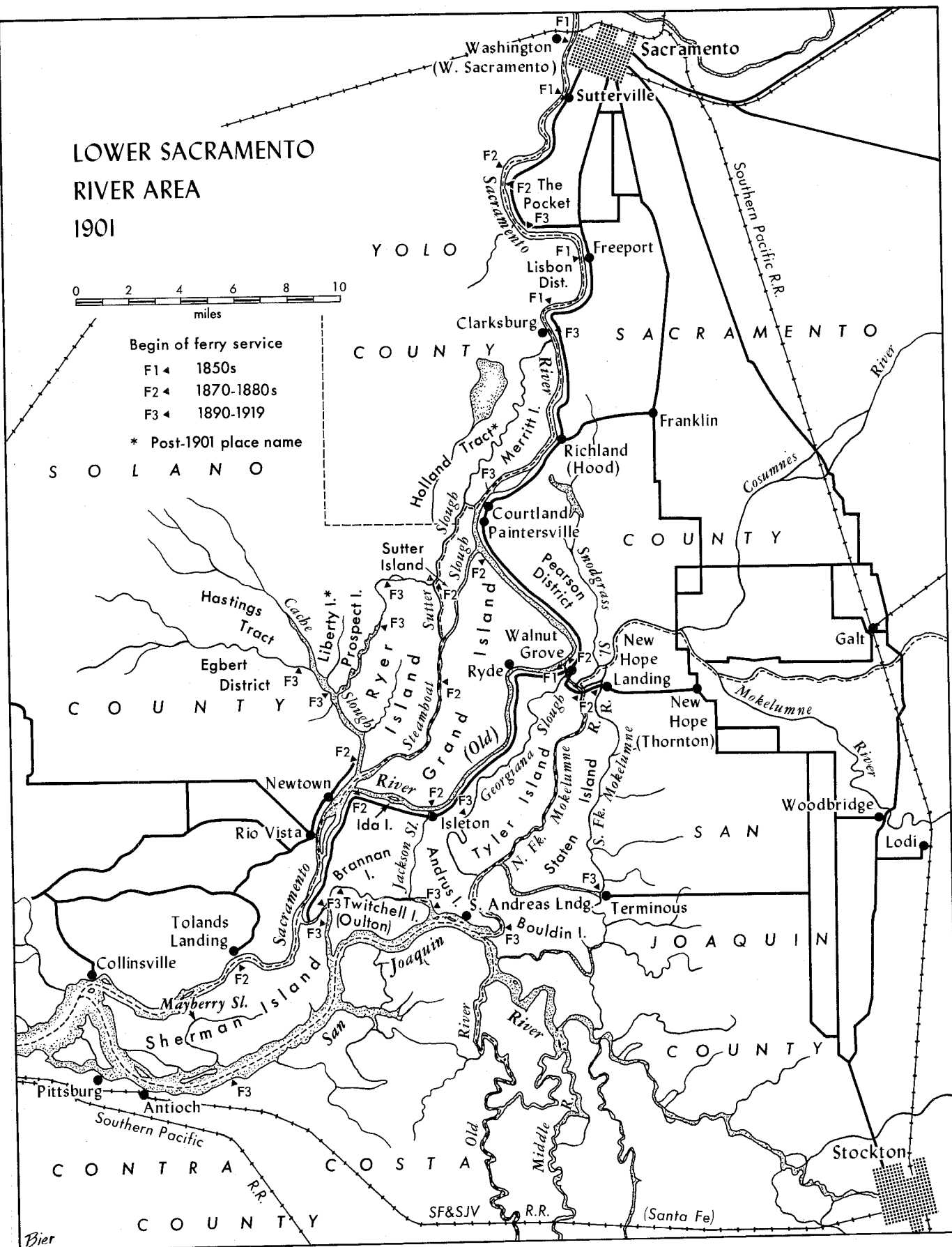


Begin of ferry service

- F1 ◀ 1850s
- F2 ◀ 1870-1880s
- F3 ◀ 1890-1919

\* Post-1901 place name

S O L A N O



south and across its grain. While this account focuses upon the lower Delta, notably the part that lies in Sacramento County, perspectives are offered on the development of roads, ferries and bridges in a broader areal context. Such a context involves attention to rail and water carriers, and to tourism.

The first roads in the Delta evolved from trails that followed the relatively firm and well drained crests of natural levees along the Sacramento and its distributaries. These strips of wooded bank land had been selected by settlers for their houses, gardens and fields. The planted areas extended along the gentle inner slopes of the natural levees above the tule or backswamp, where livestock grazed or foraged and where game was hunted. These areas of tule disappeared as sloughs were dammed and artificial levees were raised above the peripheral natural levees; the land was drained, burned and broken. Ultimately the man-made levees became broad enough to support wheeled vehicles. Thus, the trails and roads along the lower Sacramento are about as old as the settlement of farmers and gardeners. The extension of the road system along the natural banks of the lesser channels usually followed effective reclamation of the enclosed tract. Here and there, as on Grand Island, roads might be carried into a tract along the banks of a dammed slough. Those that go straight across reclaimed tracts are relatively recent.

The most important trail, designated a public road in 1857, followed the east bank of the Sacramento River from Freeport to the head of the Georgiana Slough, where Walnut Grove stands. This Georgiana Road was reached from the Capital by way of the Freeport Road or by the longer Riverside Road, which paralleled the Sacramento. A southerly extension along the Old River bank of Andrus and Brannan Islands led to Sherman Island, which gained a public road right of way for much of its length in 1870.<sup>3</sup>

Water crossings were required at three places along

the axial road between Walnut Grove and Sherman Island. Georgiana Slough, just below Walnut Grove, and Threemile Slough, at the head of Sherman Island, were too broad and deep to be forded. Such seems to have been the case, also, at the head of Jackson Slough, although this segment of the once navigable channel was constricted by a sizeable bar.<sup>4</sup> It is not known what provision was made to cross Jackson Slough prior to its damming by landowners in 1871.<sup>5</sup> It is uncertain, too, when boatmen began to operate at Threemile Slough. On the other hand, tradition holds that John W. Sharp, founder of Walnut Grove (1851), soon offered ferry service between Andrus, Tyler and Grand Islands and the mainland bank at Walnut Grove.<sup>6</sup> Through Tyler Slough and the Mokelumne, Sharp was able to reach the mainland in the vicinity of the present New Hope Landing.

Parting southeastward from the Georgiana Road at Walnut Grove in the direction of Tyler and Staten Islands, New Hope Landing and New Hope (Thorn-ton) was the principal lateral road in the lower river area. Its transit required ferry crossings at Tyler Slough until 1877,<sup>7</sup> and across the forks of the Mokelumne River. This road, which gave access to Stockton and to other towns on the east side of the Central Valley, was in use in 1877,<sup>8</sup> shortly before the residents of Staten Island opted for annexation to San Joaquin County.<sup>9</sup>

Through New Hope passed a road which may have been open to Franklin and the Capital before 1878, although in winter it remained impassable at least until 1904. The degree to which it was used by residents of the Delta is uncertain, but it was taken when repairs to the artificial levees along the Sacramento above Walnut Grove disrupted travel. Another alternate route, when it was dry, was the lateral road between Richland (Hood) and Franklin, which dates from the 1850s. It was the route preferred by motorists in transit from the lower Delta



*View to the south along the River Road and levee just below the Courtland ferry landing, probably during the high water stage of early 1904. Orchard and buildings stand on land that slopes to the left.*

and Rio Vista in the World War I period. The Sacramento to Freeport road, also, was subject to flooding as late as 1890,<sup>10</sup> and probably thereafter.

Road continuity and quality along the west bank of the Sacramento lagged, but by 1894-1900 the present levee-related pattern was established. The lag was related to the recurring difficulty of holding levees against the river's flood crests as these passed between Washington and Grand Island. Invariably, such crests arrived at times when the Yolo Basin was charged with a broad flow from the north. Usually, the strips of land and artificial levees between the Yolo Basin and the Sacramento were not restored until after the recovery of the tracts on the east bank. Residents of the west bank area, disadvantaged by their peripheral location in Yolo County, found the river and the road through Freeport or the Pocket to afford easier access to Sacramento. Ferries arose at various points between Sutterville and Freeport.<sup>11</sup>

The record of wagon freighting and of stagecoach operations on the roads of the Delta is fragmentary and, given the access to fine service by river carriers, probably was not of great importance. Nevertheless, stagecoach lines are known to have operated between Walnut Grove and Sacramento after 1877, at least intermittently. The service was extended to Isleton briefly in 1897. Service between Walnut Grove and Lodi, established prior to 1904, is believed to have been an extension of the run begun early in 1899 between New Hope, Woodbridge and the railway station at Lodi.<sup>12</sup>

It is evident that the residents of Sacramento rarely drove for pleasure into the lower area of the county. At best, the Sacramentoans of a century ago ventured along the Riverside Road toward the Pocket, unless a lodge picnic or other commemorative event drew them to Beach's Grove, about a mile south of Freeport. By way of the Riverside Road, Freeport was a two-hour carriage ride, which was roughly 40 minutes more than by the Freeport Road.<sup>13</sup>

When Georgiana Road (now River Road) was in good order, as appears to have been the case in 1887, the carriage ride beyond Freeport to Brannan Island could be quite pleasant, notably in the spring and summer. The road traversed an area renowned for its beauty and prosperity. As a viewer put it in 1887:

"A perfect garden.  
A sea of orchards  
A continuous stretch of vines.  
Lovely lawns and beautiful flowers.

It is such sights as these that greet the eye of the traveler along the road from Sacramento to Walnut Grove, skirting along the banks of the Sacramento River . . . With very few exceptions, the fruit farms are covered with magnificent drives, pretty flower patches and bits of green sward, and, above all, there is a beautiful mansion, equal in every particular to the most attractive in our Capital City, and their owners live in lordly style and have a healthy bank account."<sup>14</sup>

Such descriptions applied to Andrus Island, "a little bijou," where "some of the richest people" lived. The commentator might have noted that behind the orchards, notably near Courtland, were some large areas of pasture with herds of good dairy stock.<sup>15</sup> The equivalent lower lands off the scenic Riverside Road sometimes were better left undescribed. While ". . . grand old oaks, sycamores, walnuts and cottonwoods, over which creep wild grape vines and climbing roses . . ." <sup>16</sup> did grace the scene, and there were numerous well tended truck gardens and small dairies along the road, the low land could become blighted for months on end while constrictions in a drainage channel prevented Sacramento's untreated domestic and industrial waste from entering Snodgrass Slough.<sup>17</sup> Perhaps the fear of miasma caused Sacramentoans second thoughts about road travel much below the "Y" Street levee. On the other hand, the roads generally appear to have remained in a deplorable state until about 40 or 50 years ago.



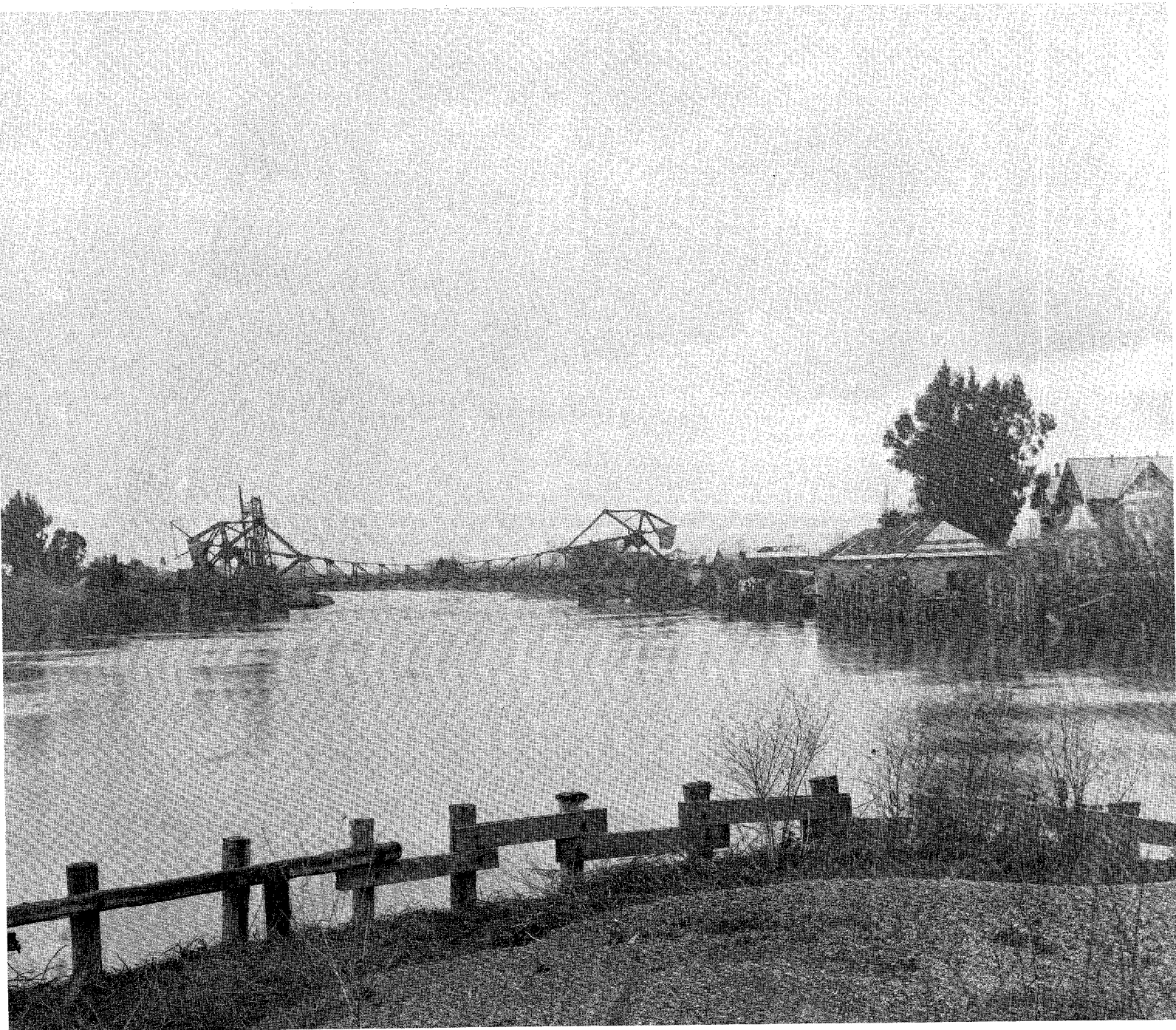
The nature and extent of road usage in the reclaimed lands of the lower Sacramento River is not known, but it may be expected that most of the traffic was between farmsteads or China camps and such service centers as Isleton, Rio Vista and Walnut Grove. Here hotels, bunkhouses, stores and restaurants also catered to such seasonal itinerants as harvest crews, crop buyers, absentee owners and hunters. Crop processing plants did not generate localized heavy road use until after 1903, except for a short time in 1877-78 when a sugarbeet mill functioned just to the north of Isleton.<sup>18</sup> Harvests of wheat, barley and hay, potatoes and other row crops, and the fruit from orchards located along the natural

levees of the Sacramento, tended to move to the nearest landings at the levees. Most of these landings were of brush, but there were wharves at various points besides those of the service centers.

The record of ferry operations in extending the service area of the axial road through lower Sacramento County is fragmentary, and to what degree the addition of ferries to the road system attracted movement between the southern area of the county and Sacramento or other towns of the Central Valley is unknown. In the day of the horse, wagon and unsurfaced road, the 40 or 45 miles between Isleton and the county seat, or the 35 miles to Stockton, were no mean distances. Perhaps drovers would have



*Walnut Grove Bridge and town from the head of Andrus Island (1919).*





avored the roads, but for freight and people the riverboats were a greater convenience.

Since the 1850s over 20 sites have supported ferries below Sacramento, most of them at the mainstream, but some in the channels that mingle the waters of the Sacramento and Mokelumne rivers and that lie to the east of Grand Island. The more important sites are believed to have supported two to four generations of ferries by the 1920s, by which time most had been replaced with bridges or earthen fills.<sup>19</sup> The small boats or rope-guided scows that handled the early traffic were supplanted by larger pontooned cable-ferries, or steam paddle wheel or screw ferries, and launches.

The ferries were begun as private enterprises, and usually were franchised by the counties, which set tolls and required the posting of a bond. The investments in the ferries were made by entrepreneurs with commercial interests in adjacent villages, by owners of riverfront land who perceived an opportunity for income, and by individuals who were encouraged by people with land development or commercial interests nearby. After 1900 the ferries gradually became toll-free county operations. Six yet functioned in 1950; the residual three cable ferries serve the Ryer Island vicinity.<sup>20</sup>

For the most part, the ferries served traffic that arose or ended in the reclaimed tracts along the river. The principal exception, which most benefitted Rio Vista, was the "Old River" or "Newtown" ferry. It afforded the only crossing between the east and west sides of the Central Valley below the Capital. Yet, operations, which began in 1874, appear not to have been very profitable, for weeks of discussion elapsed before Fred C. Lauritzen agreed to reopen service in May of 1892. The cable ferry remained in use for years, although it appears that the equipment and schedule were so deteriorated by 1909 that a side-wheeler was substituted. The users' request that Sacramento County replace the franchise with a free

ferry was not honored by the Board of Supervisors, but Lauritzen's immediate successor was followed (1910) by F.E. Benjamin, who up-graded the equipment and service and improved the access road on Grand Island. It was to good effect, for the ferry ceased to be at issue in 1911 and was considered to be efficient in 1915.<sup>21</sup> However, it was but a few years before bridges at Rio Vista, Isleton and Walnut Grove put an end to the ferry business thereabouts, probably occasioning few regrets. Bridges, like the automobile, promised a new order of accessibility and, perhaps, a flow of travellers and commerce to enhance economic growth.

The bridging of the lower Sacramento River and its main distributaries was an endeavor of Sacramento County, sometimes in cooperation with adjacent Yolo, Solano or San Joaquin counties. The task below the Capital was accomplished in two phases, one completed between 1900 and 1905 and the second between 1911 and 1928. The first phase consisted of separate responses to pressures for better linkages within the county's premier fruit growing district and to the outside, while the second phase was part of a general plan for road improvement. Although the responses to early pleas were slow to materialize, the Delta's enthusiasts became remarkably effective in getting public improvements after 1911. By then they marshalled evidence of relative neglect and of the growing role of asparagus production and packing in producing revenue. Also, the case was bolstered by embracing a timely "good roads" campaign, which the public, having become captivated by the new and exciting romance with the automobile, clearly endorsed. The road and bridge building developments in the lower county were facets of a larger movement then going on in California, where, the voters ratified in 1910 and 1916 the Assembly's proposals to develop and fund a unified system of fine highways.<sup>22</sup>

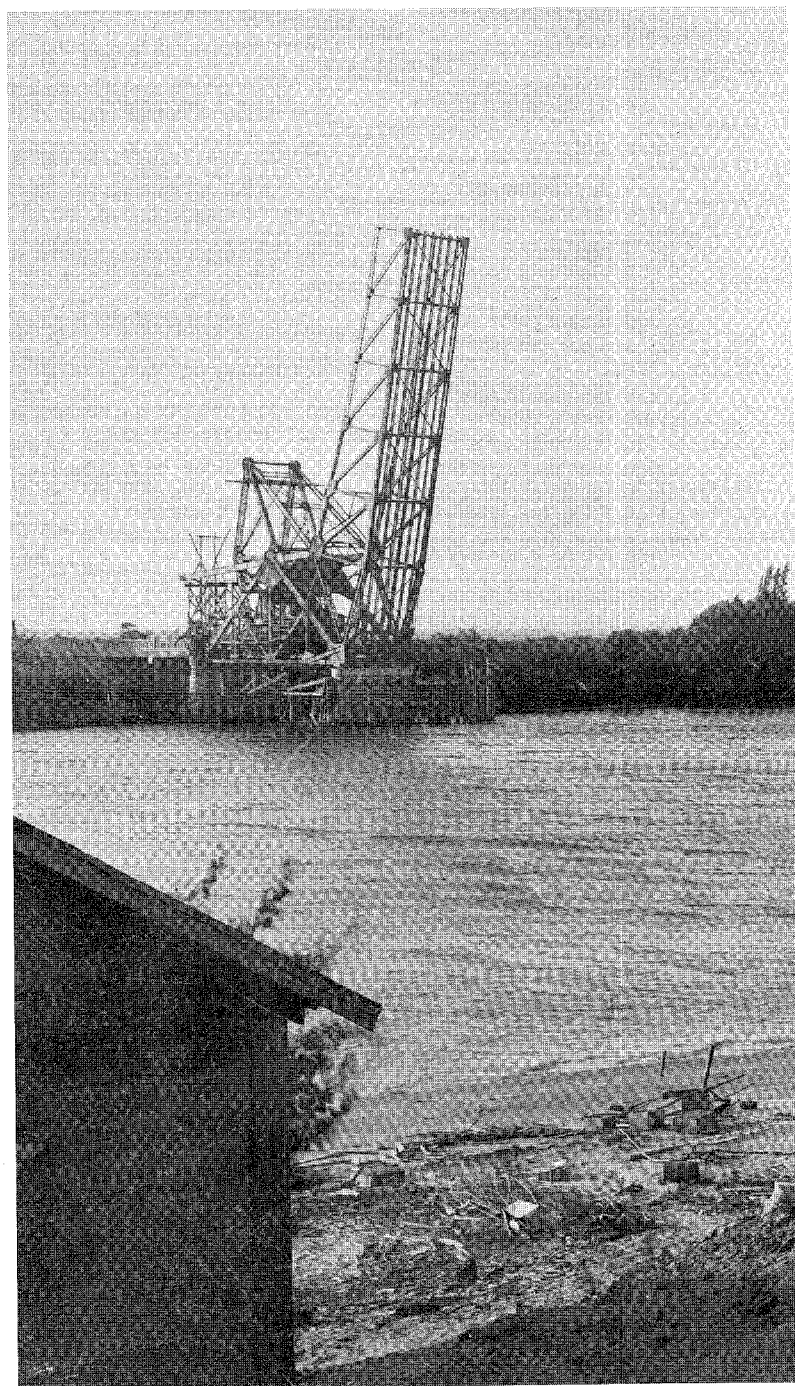
Sacramento County became involved in bridge



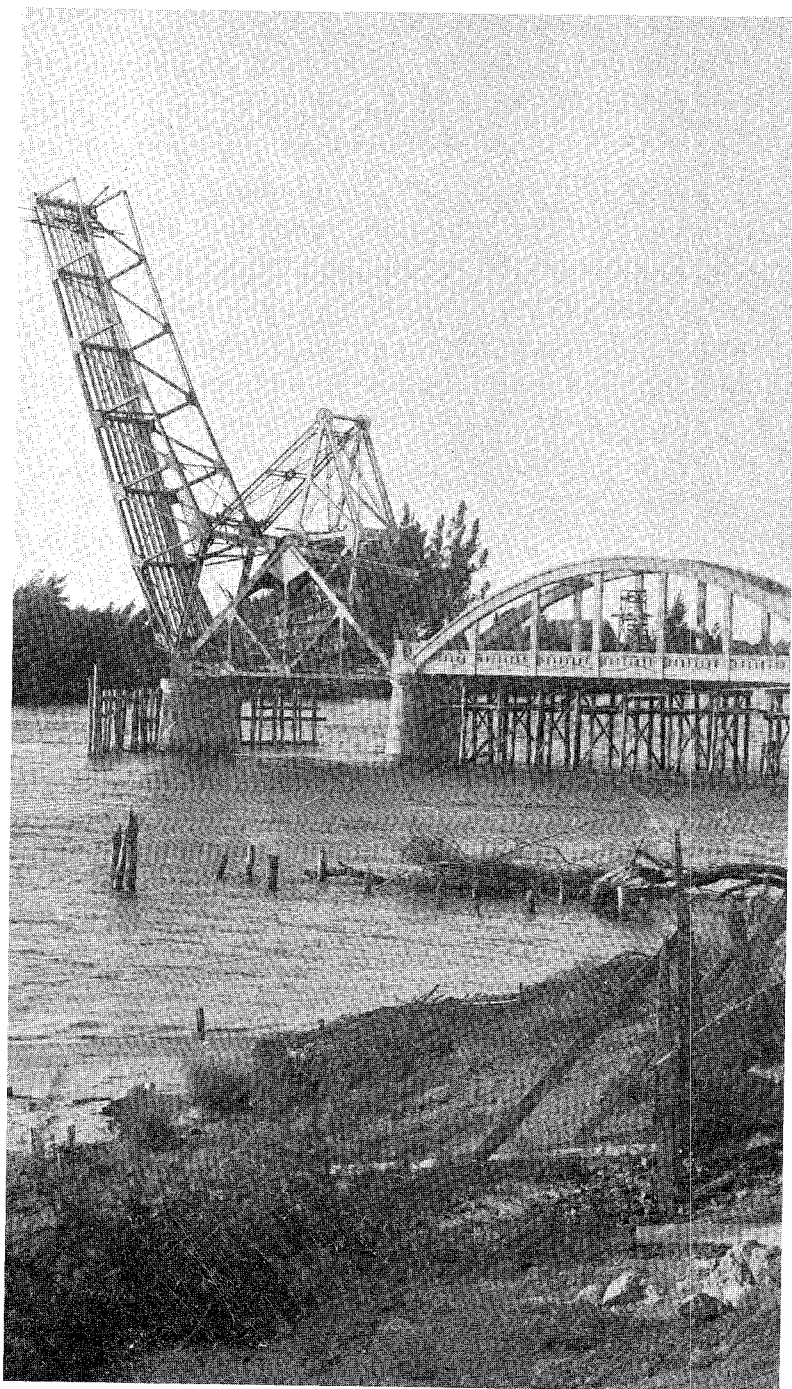
*Isleton Bridge nearing completion (1923). View is towards Grand Island from the south (Andrus Island).*

building in the Delta about eight years after the issue first was put by residents of Andrus Island and Walnut Grove, who wanted a span across the head of Georgiana Slough. The petitioners finally had their steel drawbridge opened on March 19, 1901. Shortly, the road to New Hope (Thornton) was improved by the construction of a trestle bridge across the North Fork of the Mokelumne, the complement to a trestle bridge (pre-1895) at the South Fork which was replaced by a steel drawbridge in 1906. In 1906, too, a steel swing bridge was placed across the Sacramento about three quarters of a mile below the head of Grand Island. Its opening to vehicular traffic on March 8 was an event of some moment; the span was the longest swing bridge on the West Coast.<sup>23</sup> Thus, on the eve of widespread acceptance of the automobile, a continuous road threaded the area from Brannan, Andrus and Grand Islands to Sacramento, and from Walnut Grove easterly to Thornton, whence roads led to Sacramento and Stockton.

A grand perspective was revealed by enthusiasts of the lower Delta in June of 1911 when they presented the public with a comprehensive proposal for road and bridge construction. There were elements in the proposal to benefit every reclaimed tract in the lower county, including six bridges and the up-grading of roughly 60 percent of all road mileage in the area. The businessmen and landowners of Isleton and Walnut Grove who launched the proposal followed up with the founding of the Lower Sacramento River Good Roads Club. Hardly had the movement gained ten affiliate clubs when the group became the Sacramento River Good Roads Association, whose spokesman would argue that "All roads have been practically built and cared for by the property owners," and that it was time that the County make expenditures in the area akin to those made for roads elsewhere. The neglect of the Delta was made to seem gross, given that property in the area carried about half of the assessed valuation of the entire







county outside of Sacramento. While the thrust was for change in Sacramento County, the proponents were aware of public support in Rio Vista to have a bridge built there by Solano and Sacramento counties so that traffic between Vallejo and Sacramento might be attracted. Until the first automobile crossed the causeway in late 1915, the expectations of Rio Vistans heightened whenever flood flows in the Yolo Basin imperiled the road between Davis and Sacramento. Rio Vista was but a short two hours by road from Sacramento.<sup>24</sup>

The good roads issue was raised afresh in 1914 by the newly organized Lower Sacramento River Development Association, which was based at Isleton.<sup>25</sup> Support was forthcoming from the Sacramento Chamber of Commerce which, in cooperation with residents of the Delta, organized public information programs favoring anticipated bond referenda. Illustrative of the effort at its best was an outing to Walnut Grove and Grand Island organized for June 19, 1915. The caravans, said to include about 100 automobiles and 500 passengers, ended a long day at Courtland, where a picnic, dance and exchange of good fellowship occurred with several hundred local people. In the process, newspaper reporters gained an earful about the "simply awful" road conditions which for miles had limited driving speeds to 12 miles per hour.<sup>26</sup>

Finally, in June of 1916, the heart of the road and bridge concept of 1911 became part of the Sacramento County Highway commission's comprehensive highway plan. Somewhat over 39 miles of asphalt-covered concrete pavement were to be laid from Freeport to beyond Isleton, by way of Hood, Courtland and Grand Island. The road was to be carried by bridge from Grand Island to Isleton, thence along the rim of Brannan Island to opposite Rio Vista. Here, a bridge (1919) and paved road (1922) led to Fairfield and Vallejo.<sup>27</sup>

Bridges were completed in quick succession across



the Sacramento and its distributaries after 1915, one of them pre-dating the formulation of the new highway plan. The bridges at Walnut Grove (1916), Rio Vista (1919), between Sutter Island and Paintersville (1920), above Isleton (1923) and across the head of Steamboat Slough (rebuilt in 1925) were focal. Before long, the American Toll Bridge Company was persuaded to begin a span across the San Joaquin River between Sherman Island and the Antioch vicinity. The formidable structure was begun in May of 1924 and opened on January 1, 1926. Soon thereafter the County bridged Threemile Slough at the head of Sherman Island. The Freeport Bridge was added to the road systems of Sacramento and Yolo counties in 1928.<sup>28</sup>

The opening on June 10, 1922 of the River Road from Sacramento to opposite Rio Vista represented quite an achievement for the enthusiasts of the Delta and, inasmuch as the Rio Vista bridge and the ferry between Sherman Island and Antioch had operated since 1919, there were expectations that a blossoming crossroads function would benefit the local economy. The expectations must have heightened when it was recognized in the Delta area that elements in the business sectors of Oakland and San Francisco, and the California State Automobile Association, had become aroused over the discrepancy between the flow of automobile-borne tourists from the east toward Los Angeles out of Salt Lake City and Ely, rather than toward San Francisco.<sup>29</sup> The concern in the large cities to find a formula that would draw automobile drivers across Nevada into northern California was addressed by the timely formation in the Midwest of the Victory Highway Association (1921). This voluntary association was organized to promote road improvements and travel along a transcontinental route that, more or less, followed U.S. 40. In California, the adopted route for the Victory Highway parted from U.S. 40 at Sacramento, following the River Road to the Antioch ferry, whence Oak-

land was reached by way of Concord and Walnut Creek.

The enthusiasm and pride of achievement that was sensed in the Delta and in Antioch over the diversion of the Victory Highway was reflected in an early decision to christen as "The Victory Bridge" what became known as the "Antioch Bridge."<sup>30</sup> On the face of it, the towns of the lower Sacramento River were to be served by a transcontinental route, to say nothing of having a crossroads function in northern California. The guiding spirits of Isleton's Chamber of Commerce had done rather well in enhancing the accessibility of the lower Sacramento River area through the use of public and private institutions for local betterment.

Isleton's business and farming community undertook an ambitious program to have the pavement of the Victory Highway extended across Sherman Island to the San Joaquin River, where a ferry, ultimately a bridge, would provide access to the new concrete highway which linked Antioch to Oakland and San Francisco. First, the Isleton Chamber of Commerce managed to have road grading done from the town southward along Jackson Slough to Threemile Slough, where ferries operated to Twitchell and Sherman Islands. Next, the chamber campaigned to have the River Road extended to lower Sherman Island, a distance of about 11 miles from the Rio Vista bridge. It was expected that the improved roads would develop enough traffic to warrant the bridging of the San Joaquin River and Threemile Slough.<sup>31</sup>

The campaign to have the bridge built across the San Joaquin River was managed by an Antioch-Sherman Island Bridge Committee, which was formed in 1922 with representation of the business, farming and political sectors of Antioch and Isleton. As the State could not be persuaded to build the bridge, the organizers of the American Toll Bridge Co. were consulted, and a formula evolved which

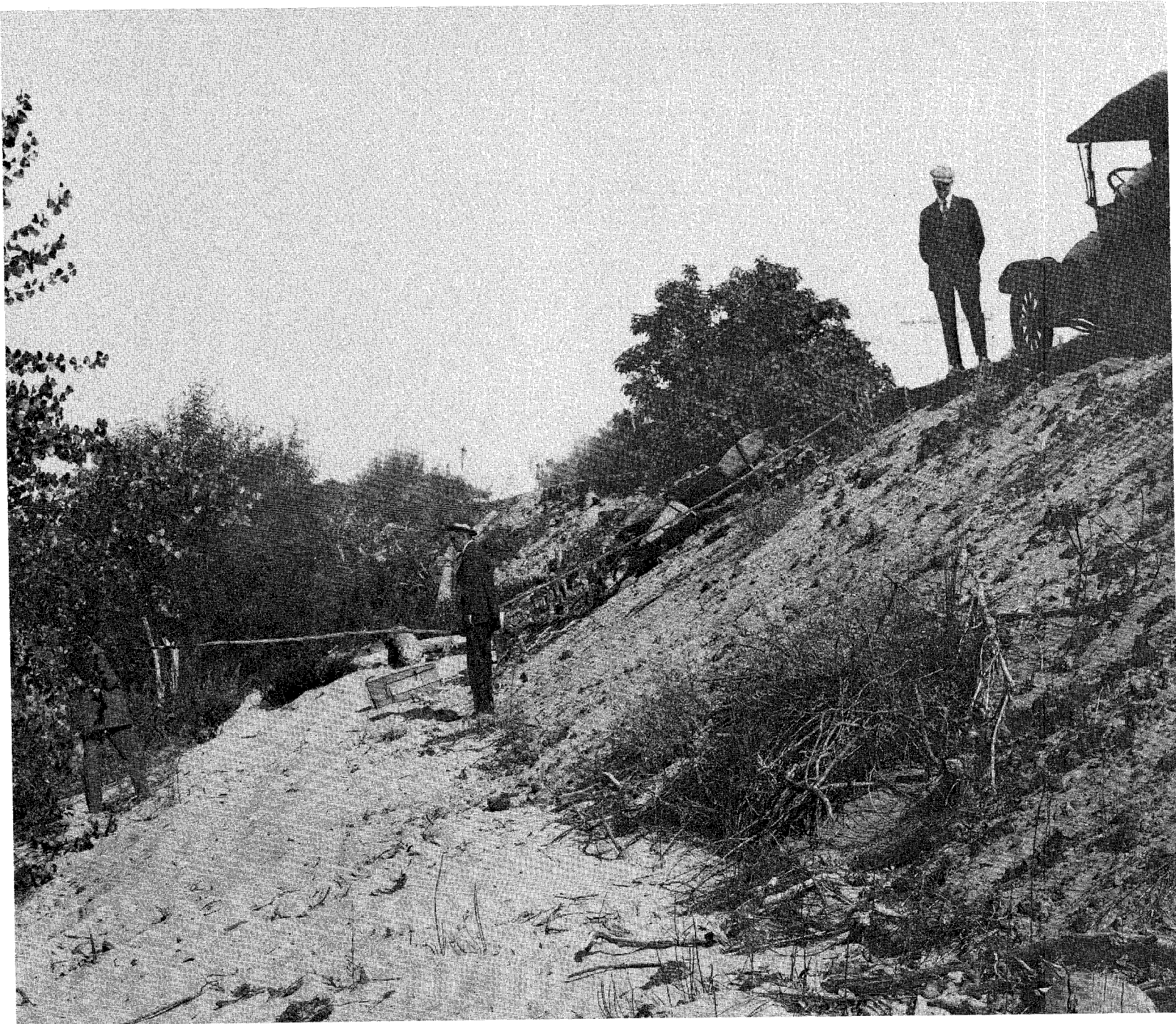


*The newly paved River Road below Isleton (1920).*





*Wave-eroded levee at Freeport Bend well after (October 1915) the winter event. The extent of erosion is suggested by the alignment of the pole and the inclined plank above the wave-cut bench and levee.*





entailed a substantial subscription in capital stock by residents of Sacramento and Contra Costa counties. Meanwhile, the Lauritzen ferry across the San Joaquin River was being used increasingly. Additional support was sought by Isleton's Chamber of Commerce in the business community of Lodi, where the Sacramento and San Joaquin County Boards of Supervisors were jointly addressed on the advantages of putting a road across Bouldin and Brannan Islands and a ferry at the Mokelumne River. When the transverse road was opened in 1926 it reached the Victory Highway at Isleton. In August of 1927 the paved highway between the Rio Vista bridge and the Antioch bridge was dedicated. It was a matter of no mean achievement that the Antioch bridge had become the first highway span across a major arm of the great system of bays and estuaries that centers on San Francisco. The event, like the anticipated advantage, was eclipsed in May of 1927 by the opening of the bridge at Carquinez Strait. Also, the uniqueness of the crossing was lost when the Dumbarton and San Mateo bridges were completed in 1927.<sup>32</sup>

With the paving of the roads and the bridge building that went on between 1916 and 1927 the system matured which, except for one or two road segments, has served the area to the present. Isleton, Rio Vista and Walnut Grove gained considerably in accessibility.

For a long time the landowners or their reclamation districts built and maintained roads, and ferries were begun by local entrepreneurs. As the need arose to modernize the ferries and to build bridges and all-weather roads to accommodate mechanized farming, trucks and the automobile, the counties were pressed to assume larger roles. In the Delta the transfer of responsibility probably was slowed because good water carrier service was available and because of custom. Along the lower Sacramento there was a pride in the achievement of land reclamation without external aid; roads were but the crown on the

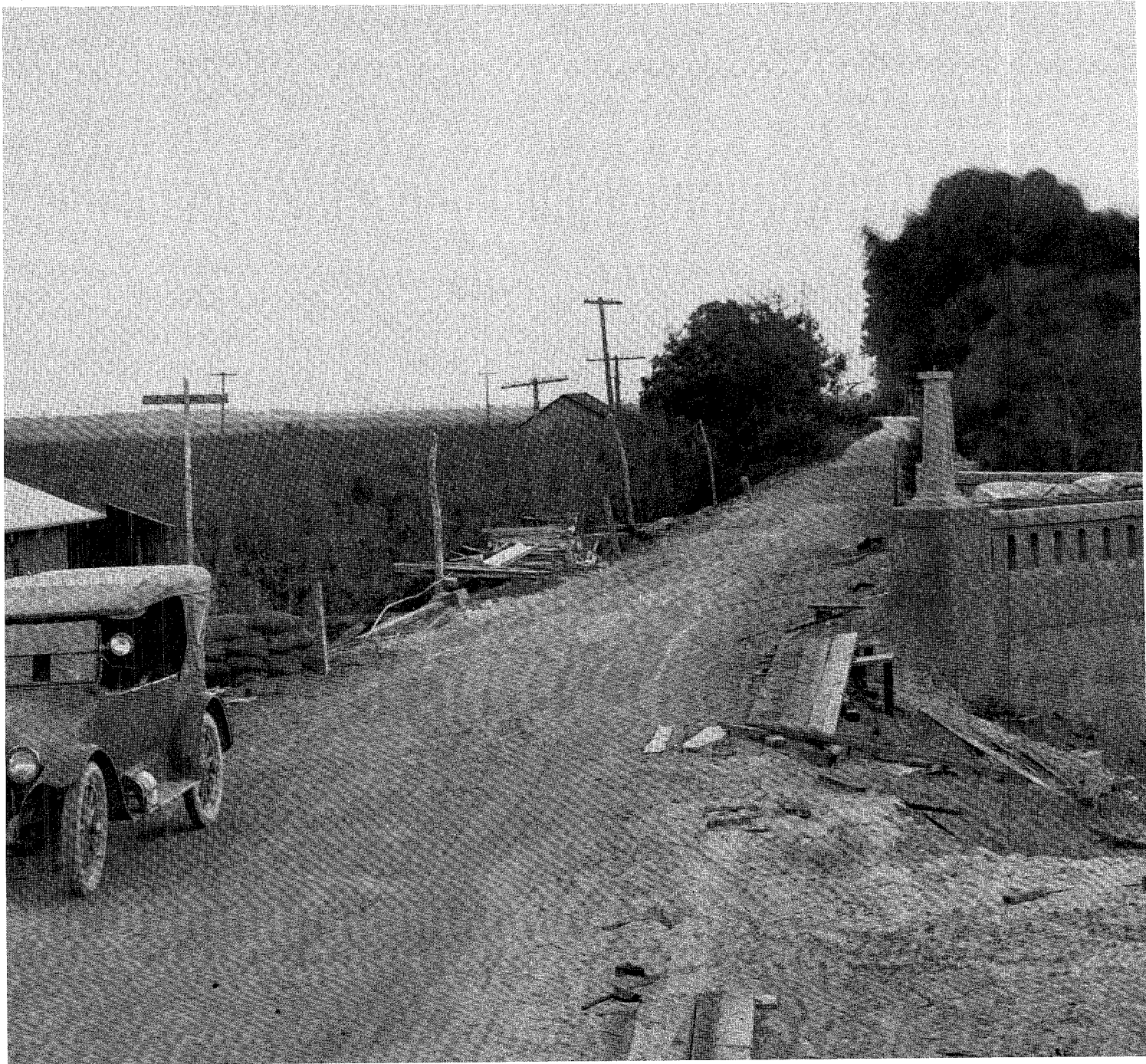
monuments to the farmer's achievement. Also, the Sacramento County Board of Supervisors may have moved slowly because there was some delicacy to the issue of where the line was to be drawn between levee building and repair and road building and repair. Landowners could become exercised about the use of funds for public road maintenance when it appeared that the benefits included the drainage and protection of private land. Presumably, too, the Board of Supervisors was careful in spending road funds because the resources available seemed to be short of demands upon them. Whatever the case, the assumption of a larger role in road building and maintenance by Sacramento County seems to have begun in the 1890s but not to have reached full-blown proportions until about 50 years ago.<sup>33</sup>

When the construction of levees passed from the hands of men and horse-drawn scrapers to dredges, which largely happened after the 1880s, the accustomed sediments of the river bank, which compacted well, were replaced and covered by sandy mining debris. This material dredged from the river did not compact very well and, when dry, was subject to heavy erosion from the winds which swept into the Central Valley across the Delta. The sand was very difficult, even dangerous, to pull a carriage or wagon through. Sometimes, flood stages resulted in slumping on the outside and excavations to fill sandbags on the inside, which added to the dangers of the perched roads, notably at night.<sup>34</sup>

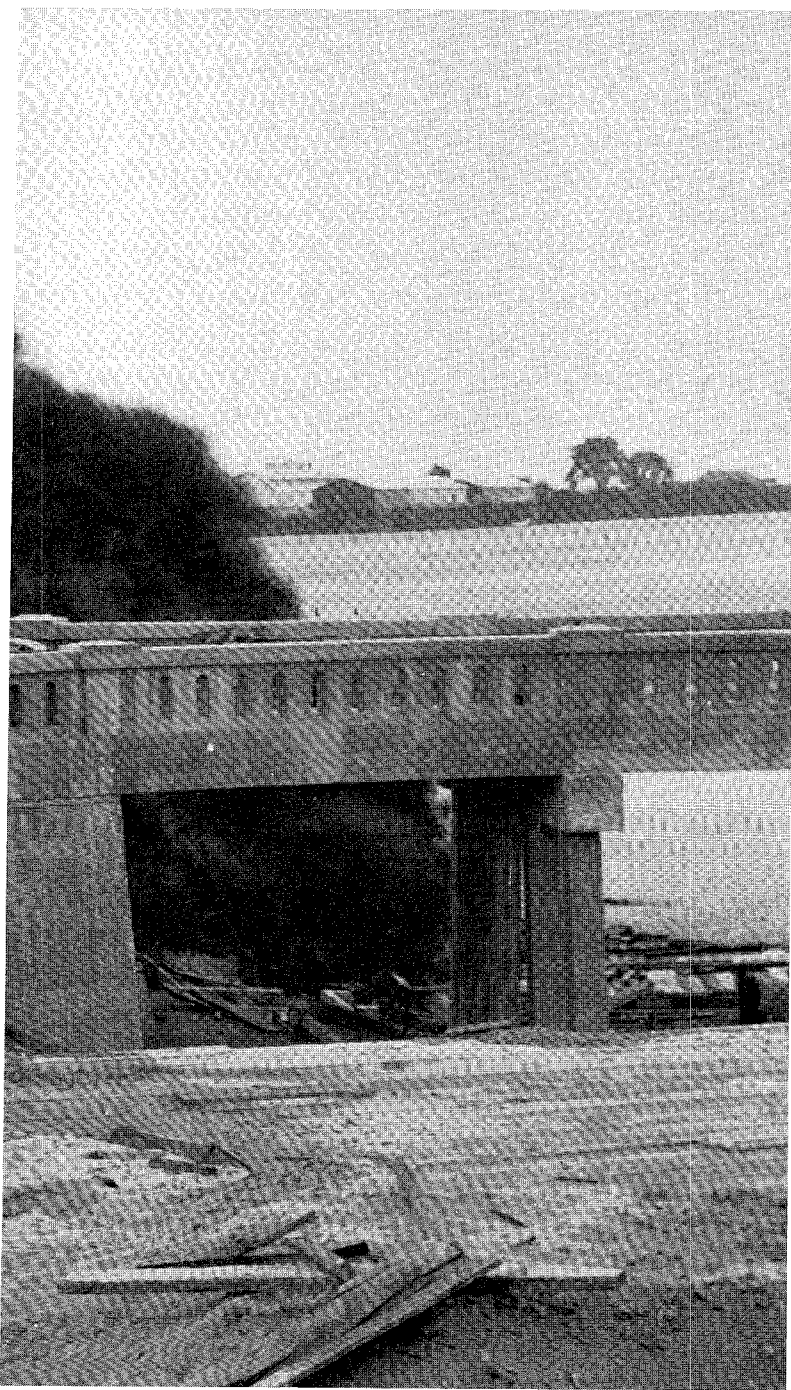
It was especially hazardous when horses bolted. Then, as with plunges off the levee today, the end might come in the river or in the grip of heavily branched fruit trees. A kindred peril of recurring incidence has been that of horse-drawn and motor vehicles being lost to the river for want of power, brakes or sound judgement on the steep ferry approaches. If anything, the greatest hazard to travel on the levee roads is the product of increased traffic and the greater speed made possible by modern road



*The River Road at the Isleton Bridge, Andrus Island, in 1928. The steepness of the inside slope of the levee is suggested by the proximity of the mature trees in the orchard to the left.*







surfaces and improved motor vehicles.

For years, the road surface might be firmed up by topping the newly dredged sand or peat levees with clay substratum obtained from the river floors. To maintain the surface it was common to carpet it with wheat straw, the first cutting of alfalfa or mown tules.<sup>35</sup> Carpeting improved traction and reduced the dust and wind erosion problem, but fire was an inherent hazard. Road sprinkling was done fitfully to dampen the straw and to lay the dust. The deficiencies of the roads were accentuated in July and August as teaming became most active, and during the wet months of the year. While gravel was brought into the area in 1911 to surface a heavily traveled road between Walnut Grove and the Mokelumne River,<sup>36</sup> the origin and extent of the practice in the Delta is unknown.

Although dredges were effective in building massive levees, recurring flood stages in the Sacramento River system overcame the defenses. In a given flood event crevassing, sometimes preceded by overtopping, resulted in the flooding of from a handful to virtually all of the reclaimed tracts. The levee outages, and with them the roads, might range from a few feet to over half a mile long, and they might persist for days or months.

On numerous occasions in the 1890s and early 1900s the question of the extent to which Sacramento County might become involved in road restoration on the levee was addressed by the Board of Supervisors. While an exception or two may have arisen, the Supervisors appear to have taken the position that work on a levee road would be undertaken by the County to the extent that the grade of the adopted road was restored or maintained, presupposing the integrity of the underlying artificial levee, which was the responsibility of the landowners. Clearly, breaks in levees were not to be restored at the County's expense. The County might have piling driven to protect roads from slumping; it might have fill placed



on levees to build or restore a road; and it might rework the material of restored levees into acceptable roadways.<sup>37</sup>

Between 1900 and 1927 resilient all-weather roads became common throughout lower Sacramento County. The oiling of roads began in 1904 on Grand Island and between Freeport and Hood, which was about as early as the procedure was adopted in the State. Road oiling appears to have begun on Andrus and Brannan Islands by the winter of 1908-09. Meanwhile, Grand Island's levee road is understood to have been oiled in its entirety in 1906, the project being completed by the landowners. By 1910 the oiling of roads was a general practice. In another decade or two the main roads were macadamized or made of concrete or asphalt. The Freeport Road, macadamized in 1909 between Sacramento and Freeport, seems to have been the first of the Delta's vicinity to be surfaced.<sup>38</sup> The concrete and asphalt River Road or Victory Highway, it may be recalled, was completed from Freeport to Rio Vista in 1922 and extended to the Antioch bridge in 1927.

All of the public roads are black-topped today. Those of the lower Delta which are underlain by peat become somewhat undulating because of varying rates of oxidation and compaction in the substratum. Sometimes the surfaces are fractured as segments of levee and road are displaced vertically by settling. Also, fire yet may undermine the roads where the levees are made of organic fill.

In the first two decades of this century a sharp increase in the planting and packing of asparagus, celery and potatoes was accompanied by an expansion of freight and passenger service. The new packing sheds and canneries through which the movement was funnelled, were clustered along the Sacramento above and below Walnut Grove and Isleton, and above Rio Vista. Fruit packing plants had arisen upstream, too, because of the sustained growth of pear production in the area along the river





*The E.G. Kirtlan gasoline station, Courtland, a representative institution of the 1920s that served as stage stop, fuel and rest stop for tourists on the paved River Road. Gasoline cost 20½¢ per gallon, including 2¢ of state tax.*





*The fast motor launch Empress was among the luxury conveyances of the lower Sacramento River*





between Freeport and Isleton. The collective needs for better farm to plant service resulted in bridge building activity by Sacramento County. New opportunities for freight hauling were a factor in drawing the Sacramento Southern Railroad to Hood in 1906 and Walnut Grove in 1912, but important, too, was the expectation that the railroad would reach southward to Antioch to provide a direct link between Sacramento and San Francisco, thus facilitating transcontinental service. This was the time too when fast gasoline motor launches entered passenger and express service between the river landings and Antioch, Suisun Bay (Mallard), Sacramento and Stockton. Also, a number of small, independent, non-union towboat and barge firms began to function about the time of World War I. Such developments ended a dependence upon the rates and schedules of steamboats operated by the major carriers. These traditional water carriers lost the bulk of the fresh fruit traffic to inter-state rail terminals shortly after 1912, and their freighting of fruit and vegetables to canneries was a deficit operation by the 1920s.<sup>39</sup>

The expectation was that an interurban or transcontinental railway would be established through the Delta between the 1890s and 1910. The rumored interurban line was expected to link Walnut Grove to Sacramento and Stockton. The anticipation of the coming of a transcontinental line arose from the organization of the Sacramento Southern Railroad in 1903 and the subsequent work on a roadbed to the south. About then (1904) the Santa Fe had begun its contracted freight steamer service through the Delta out of Antioch, and had proposed (1905) to put a low-level steel bridge with movable span between the vicinity of Pittsburg and Chippis Island.<sup>40</sup> While the growing presence of a competitor may have been inducement enough to the Southern Pacific Railroad Co. to press ahead with the Sacramento Southern, there was another major consideration. It related to

finding an alternative for the time-consuming and costly ferry operation which had functioned since 1869 between Benicia and Port Costa. The Southern Pacific's preference was for a low-level bridge across the western end of Suisun Bay. But, consideration of an alternative through the Delta arose as formidable opposition. By 1907 rights of way were reported to have been obtained and test piling driven on both banks of the San Joaquin about 3.5 miles to the east of Antioch. Nothing more came of the bridging near Antioch, although it was 1928 before the Southern Pacific bridged the western end of Suisun Bay.<sup>41</sup>

The Sacramento Southern extended service to Walnut Grove by March of 1912 and to Isleton in October of 1929; soon thereafter a spur was completed to the junction of Georgiana Slough with the Mokelumne River, where a large asparagus cannery operated. These sporadic penetrations of the Delta, where the Southern Pacific's water carriers had a strong position, involved the erection of waterside wharves and warehouses and stations and sheds in town. The object had become one of serving fruit shippers and the packers and shippers of the burgeoning asparagus and celery crops. Also, in the lower county area sugar beets were coming into vogue, and potatoes were yet raised in quantities. Although the branch below Walnut Grove was not expected to yield a profit, it was important to the fostering of traffic over-all. The negative expectations were realized. In the eight months ending with July of 1930 operating costs were double the gross revenue.<sup>42</sup> The Depression was at hand, and the zenith of Sacramento County's asparagus boom had passed. Moreover, motor carriers were raising formidable competition. Although the usefulness of the railroad was prolonged by conditions arising out of World War II, the spur beyond Isleton is gone and service to Walnut Grove all but ended.

Railway service into the reclaimed tracts of the Yolo Basin became available in 1929 when a branch



of the electric interurban San Francisco-Sacramento Railroad was carried about 16 miles through the Glide, Lisbon and Holland districts. The primary objective was to serve the Holland District, a large tract where corporate and family-operated farms had been developed, and to serve the old village of Clarksburg, then being rejuvenated as a model town for farmers and site for a beet sugar mill. A proposed extension of the railroad to Ryde, below and opposite Walnut Grove on the Sacramento River, was denied by the Interstate Commerce Commission in 1929 and 1931 because adequate service was accessible at Walnut Grove and Isleton through the Sacramento Southern.<sup>43</sup>

Freighting on the river after 1900 largely was shared by the boats of the Southern Pacific and the California Transportation Company, although the Santa Fe Railroad, the Sacramento Transportation Company and lesser operators participated. For years there was twice-daily passenger and freight service to and from Sacramento and San Francisco, and less frequently between Sacramento and Stockton. Steam or motor launches, usually based on Stockton or Antioch, provided week-day service between Sacramento or other points and Rio Vista. Some of the runs were coordinated with scheduled service between Isleton and Rio Vista and either Antioch or Mallard, where rail service was found to and from Oakland-San Francisco.<sup>44</sup>

Between 1900 and the 1930s the steam powered sternwheelers that engaged in scheduled and contract freighting were replaced by motor screw towboats, barges and freighters. Many of these new entrants into the business were owned by individuals or families in Rio Vista, Stockton or Antioch. The freight schooners or scows which still hauled hay and grain after 1900 disappeared in the mid-1920s, as did some of the small towboat and barge operations. The scheduled passenger service by riverboats to San Francisco and Sacramento ended in 1930; between

1933 and 1938 the small towboat operations succumbed as labor costs and the highway carriers pared their profits. By the 1950s highway carriers had replaced all water carriers except the petroleum product barges.<sup>45</sup>

Motor stages appear to have offered local passenger service between Walnut Grove and Hood at least by 1912, and between Isleton and Sacramento by mid-1913. Three such stage lines operated between either Isleton or Walnut Grove and the Capital by the winter of 1915, and another ran from Courtland and Hood. Unregulated and unscheduled motor carriers, "wildcat stages," had become so common by 1916 that the major operation of motor launches lost half of its passenger traffic to them. The unscheduled buses, most of which were owned by local Japanese and Chinese entrepreneurs, were preferred by the Asian farm laborers who had represented a sizeable share of the launch passengers. The Sacramento Southern too protested motor carrier competition in 1920.<sup>46</sup>

By 1919 the Sacramento based River Auto Stage Association emerged as the dominant motor carrier offering service to the lower area of the county. Between it and lesser operations there was service available between Sacramento and Rio Vista, and between Isleton, Rio Vista and Rio Vista Junction. At least by 1923, Walnut Grove, Lodi and Stockton were on a motor stage line, and there was service to the Antioch Bridge in 1926. It is understood that the "wildcat stages" were available for service to points in the Central Valley near the Delta, and to San Francisco Bay points. Those "wildcat stages" that ran to San Francisco often returned with merchandise for the stores that catered to the Asiatics.<sup>47</sup>

The quality of the main roads into the Delta was such by 1925 that picnickers and campers from Sacramento and the San Francisco Bay Area were frequenting the sand bars and islands opposite Rio Vista on weekends. To cater to such visitors a campground

with bath houses and boat rentals was opened on Ida Island in 1928. By 1929, the midsummer sojourning of yachts and lesser cabin craft in tree-lined Steamboat Slough had reached a scale to warrant the installation of a dock with fueling facilities at Courtland. Others followed this innovation shortly. By then gasoline stations were established institutions and in 1930 the sale of outboard craft and motors began at Isleton.<sup>48</sup> The recreation industry was taking root.

Within another decade boat rental establishments, some with campground areas, were functioning at various places between Isleton and the Antioch Bridge. Equivalent facilities were less in evidence elsewhere along the Sacramento until the 1950s, by which time lower Andrus Island had quite a concentration of marinas and of subdivisions or parks for occupancy by weekenders and retirees. The State's creation of the Brannan Island Park and Recreation area in 1952 on the southerly peninsula was part of the trend.<sup>49</sup>

Contributing to the attention gained for the Sacramento Delta's recreation assets was the staging of festive commemorative weekends on a recurring basis. As is the custom, the festivals featured parades, boat races and other competitive events for adults and children, carnival activities and commercial and civic displays. The first of such affairs was begun by the Chamber of Commerce of Rio Vista in September of 1915 and 1916 as an Annual Horse Show and Water Carnival. More sustained was the Bass Derby launched in August of 1933, which continued without interruption until 1938 and after 1948. Isleton's Asparagus Festival, held annually between May of 1924 and World War II was revived in 1974 with a less distinctive theme. Meanwhile, Courtland's Pear Fair was launched in 1973.<sup>50</sup>

The road system of the Delta, like the waterways, is a persisting record of the past. While the first roads evolved to link the area to the outside, their larger function was to complement the carriers of the

waterways. The roads were an integral part of the reclamation achievement, for the most part crowning the levees built through the enterprise of the landowners. The bridges, many of them successors to what originally were locally owned ferries, are symbols of the automobile era and of the transfer to county authority of a task grown burdensome because of recurring restorations and dressings of the levees and because of the cost of providing the all-weather surfaces which motor vehicles and modern methods of agriculture required.

Local landowners were early to perceive what the automobile might do to further economic development. By and large, these people obtained the material public and private aid that they sought to enhance accessibility for the area. However, the roads obtained have not made the Delta focal in the circulation of Central California, with the possible exception of State Highway No. 12. Given that the major highways that do support inter-regional circulation neutralize the texture of the landscape with their proportions, uniformity and invitation to speed, it is well. In the Delta the sinuous and narrow roads, which may be labyrinthine to the uninitiated, are very much of the past — from the inconveniences and hazards of their location and design to the patterns of settlement and land use which may be discerned from them. To drive them is to experience a sense of the past and the present of the Delta at once.

Photographs on pp. 144-145 and 162 are courtesy of J.R. Lauritzen, Rio Vista. The map of the lower Sacramento River area was supplied by the author. The photograph on p. 149 is reproduced from Grove K. Gilbert, *Hydraulic Mining Debris in the Sierra Nevada*, U.S. Geological Survey, Professional Paper 105 (Washington, 1917). The view of the E.G. Kirtlan gasoline station is courtesy of the California State Library, Sacramento. All remaining photographs are from the State of California, Department of Water Resources.



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# Juan María de Salvatierra a portrait

*"Night cooled the air. The morning of Saturday, October 12, (1697) we woke up in clear sight of California . . . we could not land at San Bruno . . . we entered the bay of La Concepción . . . I said Mass . . . went ashore . . . ate some pitahayas, but saw no natives . . . October 16 . . . we reached at sundown the old fort of San Bruno . . .*

*Captain Juan Antonio Romero insisted that in another bay very close by he had . . . found the water excellent . . . the bay was San Dionisio . . . the area was verdant and closer to the sea . . .*

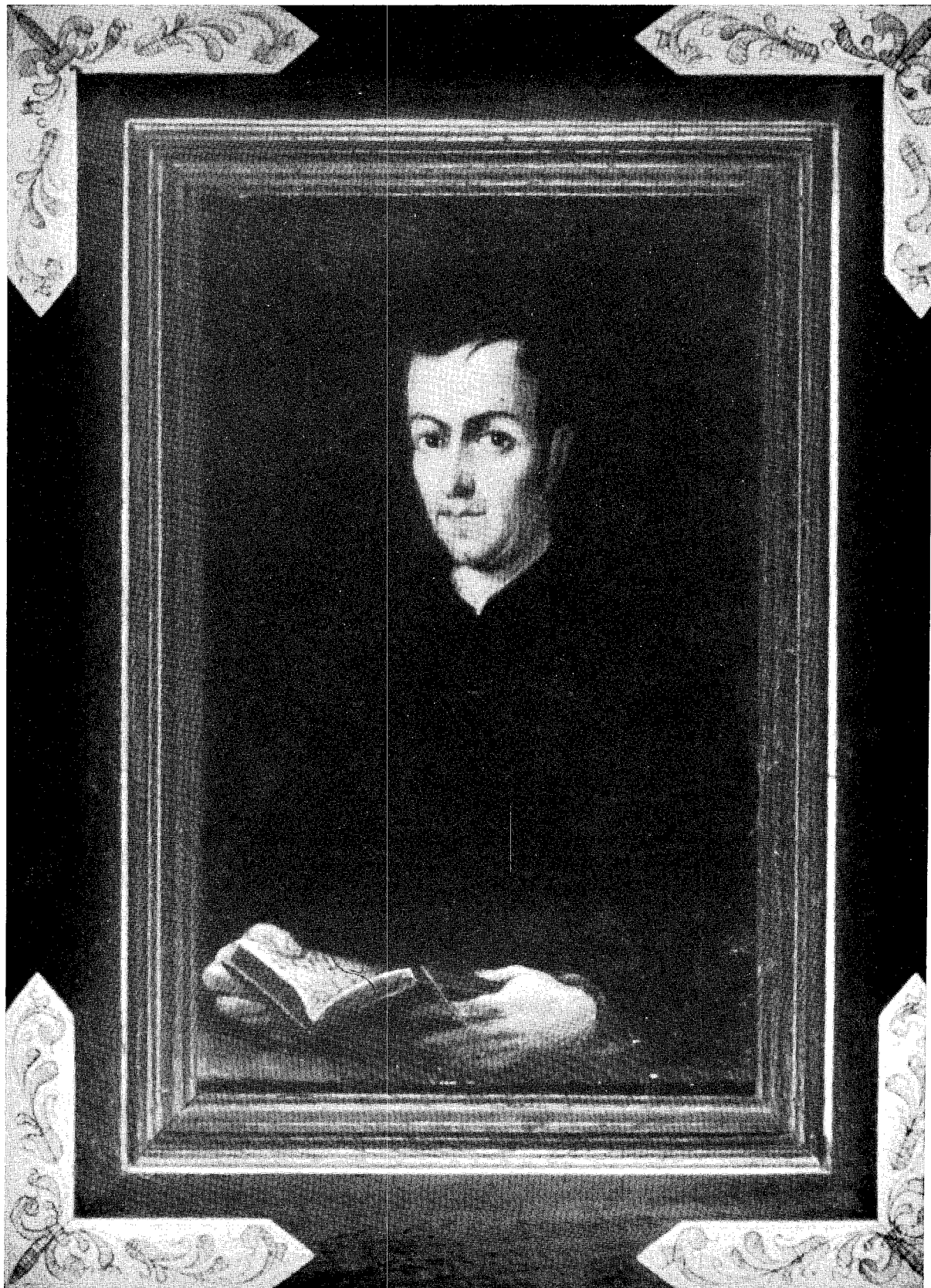
*It would . . . be difficult to abandon San Bruno . . . we decided to cast lots . . . The slip of paper drawn out bore the name of San Dionisio . . . I preferred San Bruno since it would spare us having to travel farther. . . . early on the morning of Friday, October 18, . . . I went ashore . . . Quite a few Indians with their wives and little children came to receive us. They knelt down to kiss the Crucifix and the Virgin . . . The site seemed ideal to me . . ."*

Thus, Father Juan María de Salvatierra of the Society of Jesus described the selection of the site of the first permanent mission of the Californias, Nuestra Señora de Loreto-Conchó, in a letter of November 27, 1697 to his representative and fellow Jesuit in Mexico City, Juan de Ugarte. It was a great moment in the history of California, the Society of Jesus, and in the life of Salvatierra. Since 1535, when Fernando Cortés attempted settlement of La Paz bay, Spain had sought to colonize this remote outpost of her empire. Success was near when Jesuit Father Eusebio Francisco Kino established a mission at San Bruno in 1683, but after eighteen months problems of supply caused its abandonment. Nevertheless Kino continued to strive for the evangelization of California and transmitted that zeal to Salvatierra.

Born into a noble Hispano-Italian family on November 15, 1648 in Milan, Salvatierra studied at the Jesuit college in Parma and, on July 10, 1668 entered the Society of Jesus in Genoa. As a novice, in 1670 he requested service in foreign missions, and this was granted upon ordination in 1675. On May 25

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*Juan María de Salvatierra*



of that year he sailed from Genoa with his friend and classmate, Juan Bautista Zappa and, boarding a Spanish ship at Cádiz, reached the port of Veracruz in the viceroyalty of New Spain (Mexico) on September 13. From October, 1675 to 1679 Salvatierra studied theology at the Colegio Máximo of San Pedro y San Pablo in Mexico City and taught rhetoric at the Jesuit college in Puebla.

In the mid-seventeenth century the Society of Jesus had begun missionization of the Sierra Madre and thus, in 1680, Salvatierra was assigned to serve in Tarahumara. For ten years he labored at the missions of Guazapares, Chinipas, Temoris and Serocahui until the Pima-Tarahumara revolt of 1690 forced him to leave. Escaping over the mountains, Salvatierra reached the Pimería Alta (Sonora) mission of Dolores where he met Kino and learned of the many souls awaiting Salvation in California.

After a brief sojourn in Kino's missions, Salvatierra returned to Mexico City in 1691, served as rector of the Jesuit college of Guadalajara from 1693 to 1696, and in that year was appointed rector of the college at Tepotzotlán. While there he was visited by Kino and, his interest in California renewed, Salvatierra began collecting alms to finance a mission there, establishing the Pious Fund which would grow over a century and a half to support founding of all the California missions. With aid from Attorney General José Miranda Villalán, the fund gained wide support and on June 18, 1696 a Royal Order for the founding of Jesuit missions in California was dispatched to Viceroy Conde de Moctezuma who, in turn, issued authorization on February 5, 1697. Acting immediately, Salvatierra set out for the Río Yaqui, Sonora, and sailed across the Gulf of California on October 10.

The opening of a mission field in California was not an easy task. Within a few weeks hostile Cochimies attacked Loreto, and shortages of supplies and personnel were constant. Nevertheless, Salvatierra saw the fruition of his labors with the founding

of San Juan Bautista Londó (1699), San Francisco Javier Viggé (1699), San Juan Malibat-Ligüi (1704), Santa Rosalía de Mulegé (1705) and San José de Comondú (1708), and the support of such co-missionaries as Francisco María Piccolo, Juan de Ugarte, Juan Manuel de Basaldúa and Jaime Bravo.

From 1704 to 1706 Salvatierra served as provincial of the Jesuit province of New Spain, but his concern for California was foremost, and he carried out a visitation there in the fall of 1705. In September, 1706 he returned to Loreto where he served as superior of the missions until March, 1717 when he was called to Mexico by Viceroy Marqués de Valero. En route, Salvatierra fell ill and, accompanied by Brother Jaime Bravo, reached Guadalajara where, at the college of which he was once the rector, he died on July 18 at the age of sixty-nine.<sup>1</sup>

A devoted, serious and hard working priest, Salvatierra was beloved by his fellow Jesuits as a man who asked no more than he was prepared to give. Appreciated and praised by such contemporaries as Kino, his labor and memory were revered by such successors as Fray Junípero Serra and Fray Francisco Palóu. Salvatierra's extensive detailed and factual correspondence documents his role as the founder of California.

The portrait, published here for the first time, was painted on copper probably during Salvatierra's years as a theology student at the Colegio Máximo. It is the earliest known portrait of him, and one of two authenticated likenesses. The original (17 × 11 cm.) is in the collection of Lic. Salvador Reynoso Reynoso of Guadalajara.

## Notes

1. The foregoing is from: Ernest J. Burrus, ed., *Juan María de Salvatierra, S.J.* (Los Angeles: Dawson's Book Shop, 1971) and W. Michael Mathes, Vivian C. Fisher, E. Moisés Coronado, eds., *Obras Californianas del Padre Miguel Venegas, S.J.* (La Paz: Universidad Autónoma de Baja California Sur, 1979-1980), v. 5.

## REVIEWS

W. Michael Mathes, *Reviews Editor*

### The Sutro Library

The Sutro Library, the San Francisco branch of the California State Library, is widely known for its eclectic collections of rare books and manuscripts and its superb genealogical holdings. It is not, however, generally regarded as a resource for the study of California history. The purpose of this article then is not to retell the story of how Adolph Sutro, the library's founder, collected incunabula and Shakespeare first folios but rather to explore its value for the California and multiregional historian.

Its massive collections of United States local history, Mexicana and voyages and travels form a foundation for the study of California's land. California did not develop in isolation, and the holdings of the Sutro superbly complement those libraries devoted exclusively to California history.

For decades, the Sutro's outstanding family and local history collections have had great appeal. Drove of family historians overwhelm the library searching for their "roots" and places of origin. This is not surprising. California more than any other state remains a composite of people from other states and countries. Even today, a native Californian still evokes curiosity and people transplanted to the Golden State still nostalgically identify with their hometown.

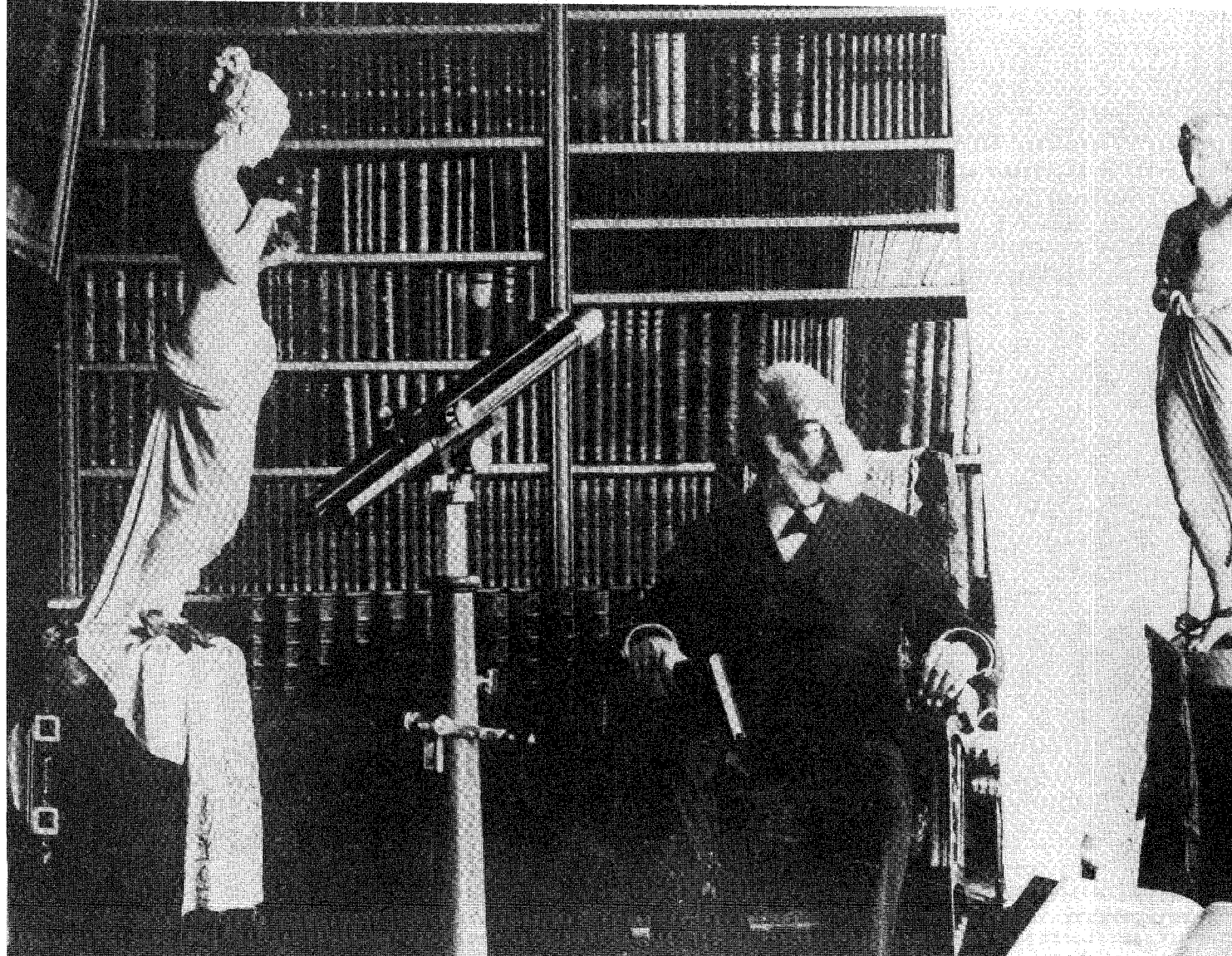
These same materials that bring joy to the genealogist can likewise be gold for the historian. Most Californians, past and present, came from somewhere else. The lives of explorers, argonauts and settlers can be traced at the Sutro before their arrival. These same materials can illuminate other aspects of California's story. Long Beach, for example, was once laughingly referred to as the Iowa seaport and many Californians can still recall the

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festive meetings of state societies where Arkansas "toothpicks," Connecticut "nutmeggers," and Maryland "crawthumpers" congregated. The humor produced by these state groups, however, only amplifies the patchwork quilt that is California. The institutional and urban historian might do well to study an Iowa narrative before interpreting the history of a city like Long Beach.

Recently, too, urban and multiregional historians have begun to make comparative analyses of California cities and ethnic groups with those of other states. Examples include the rise of Denver and San Francisco and the Jewish populations of San Francisco, Los Angeles, Portland, and Denver. Again, the Sutro with its countrywide resources can provide the historian with an excellent place of embarkation.

The library's genealogical holdings, quite nat-

urally, offer a wealth of material on biography and names. Thousands of family histories compiled by scholars and amateurs form the core collection. These are supported by books on names, passenger lists, census records (1790-1880), D.A.R. lineage books, records of births, baptisms, marriages, wills, deeds, land records, cemetery records, biographical dictionaries, bibliographies, and guides to genealogical research. A card index to surnames and ethnic groups provides the key to the family history collection.

Over the years, the Sutro has acquired an impressive number of United States regional, state, and local narrative histories. Like most genealogical libraries, works related to the Atlantic states dominate. Despite this, the library has been able to build a respectable collection of Western Americana and



*Adolph Sutro amid the treasures of his San Francisco library. By the time of his death in 1898, the former San Francisco mayor had amassed the largest private library in the United States only to have the 1906 Earthquake and Fire destroy half the collection.*

nearly all the major secondary works on the Westward movement are available. This has been further bolstered by the recent purchase of microfilm copies of the Cox Americana Collection as it relates to the West. Researchers gain access to the local history collection through a specialized card catalog in the reading room.

County histories, once scorned as "mug books," provide an excellent resource for tracking down individuals before their arrival in California. A special index in the library devoted to Illinois county histories, for example, lists Illini who came to California during the Gold Rush and returned. Importantly, the Sutro also has such useful publications as gazetteers, historical atlases, place name books and maps covering all fifty states. In 1976, the library obtained the 7000 volume Tanneyhill Directory Collection. Many of these volumes that offer geographical coverage from Hawaii to Maine are unique to California libraries.

Like most genealogical libraries, the Sutro does not offer indepth coverage of ethnic groups and minorities and locations outside of the United States and British Isles. Every effort, of course, is being made to acquire materials on Blacks, American Indians, Orientals, Mexicans, and middle Europeans as it is published.

Separated from the local history collection is a large selection of "U.S.iana." These volumes, located in the closed stacks, include general histories, books and pamphlets on America's wars, biographies, travel, and guide books. As well, the Sutro has an extensive collection of Civil War manuscripts and letters by such notable individuals as George Washington, Andrew Jackson and Jefferson Davis. A perusal of the stacks will reveal such important Western Americana as George Catlin's monumental *North American Indian Portfolio*, James Otto Lewis' *Aboriginal Portfolio*, Henry Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes Of North America*, Edward Kendall's *Narrative Of The*

*Texas Santa Fe Expedition*, and travel accounts of Zebulon Pike, S.H. Long, and Washington Irving. Because of Adolph Sutro's business interests in mining, the library's history of technology collection includes a number of important titles on that vital Western industry.

Many researchers express surprise that the Sutro does not actively collect Californiana. That function falls into the domain of the State Library's other historical collection, the California Room. Nonetheless, through Adolph Sutro and early donors, the library possesses enough Californiana to merit attention.

First editions of Venegas, Baegart, Salvatierra, and Palóu record the story of the intrepid Jesuit and Franciscan missionaries who crisscrossed the Californias. One item, which literally may become a relic, is a Bible from Mission Carmel that some believe actually belonged to the "sainted" Fr. Serra. In addition to these black and brown robed missionaries, numerous explorers, scientists, and traders visited California's shores. A sampling of the Sutro's impressive travel collection will reveal such pertinent works as Cook, Vancouver, Shelvocke, La Perouse, Belcher, Beechey, Mofras, and Dana as well as a rare 1590 volume of Theodore DeBry depicting the coronation of Drake by the California Indians. Overland journeys to California are covered by the writings of Barlett, Fremont, Emory, the massive twelve volume Pacific Railroad Survey Reports, and a presentation copy of R.B. Stratton's sensational *Captivity Of The Oatman Girls*.

In addition to these bibliographic treasures, the Sutro possesses materials that will please the genealogist and historian concerned with more modern times. County histories, directories, San Francisco municipal reports, vital records, D.A.R. lineage books, blue books, ship passenger lists, and California census records for 1850-1880 are available. Other Californiana relates to the history of San Francisco



education, theater, fairs, and expositions.

Microfilm copies of the San Francisco *Alta California*, *Call*, *Bulletin*, *Chronicle* and *Examiner* cover the years 1849 to 1899. As well, the collection includes such gems as that wonderfully illustrated newspaper, *The Wide West* (1854-58) and the *Golden Era* (1854). Runs of periodicals abound. Frank Marriott's San Francisco *Newsletter* (1861-75), *Argonaut* (1877-1908), *California Christian Advocate* (1907-39), *California Teacher* (1865-75), *Cameracraft* (1901-26), *Dramatic Chronicle* (1866-68), *Figaro* (1867-80), *Mining And Scientific Press* (1860-1910), and the *Wave* (published for those in the "swim") are available.

As one would expect, the library has quantities of material on the life of Adolph Sutro. These include letters, record books, unpublished reminiscences, materials on the famed Comstock tunnel, photographs and guest registers of Sutro Heights, maps showing Sutro's extensive land holdings in San Francisco, and ephemera on that famous natatorium that bears his name, the Sutro Baths.

In 1918, the estate of the noted California historian, Theodore H. Hittell, placed 41 manuscripts and typescripts in the library. These include such nuggets as Governor Juan B. Alvarado's "Notes on California History" (written at Hittell's request); Antonio María Osio's "Memorias de las Alta California," and Hittell's unpublished biography of the filibuster William Walker.

Manuscripts and photographs documenting the lives and activities of Californians who travelled outside the state exist. The library obtained over 5,000 photographs of C. Tucker Beckett, a retired army officer, who recorded with his Kodak the Pancho Villa expedition of 1916 and life in several far western army bases before W.W. I. The Viola Smith papers document the career of a dynamic woman involved in world trade and women's organizations from 1920 to 1969. In 1971, the library acquired the photograph

collection of Louis J. Stellman (1877-1961). The amateur San Francisco photographer made a superb record of the City's Chinatown as well as still lifes and views made on his trips across the U.S. and Europe. An extensive collection of letters, diaries, books, pamphlets, and photographs of Charles M. Kurtz, an engineer with the Southern Pacific Railroad from 1902 to 1939 contains a wealth of material for railroad historians. It should be noted, however, that the California materials of Beckett, Smith, Stellman, and Kurtz are now in the California Room of the State Library in Sacramento.

Related to the discovery and exploration of California is a fine selection of New World maps and atlases. Charles B. Turrill, an historian from a by-gone era, compiled in 1917 a useful cartographic bibliography entitled "Maps Showing the Californias in the Sutro Branch." This useful typescript lists single maps, atlases, and maps found in books. The library has available important cartographic masterpieces from the likes of Jan Janssonius and Nicolas Sanson depicting California as an island. Atlases accompanying the works of Cook, Vancouver, La Perouse and Humboldt, of course, present excellent representations of the California coast line. As well, the library has many other examples depicting Mexico and South America including three volumes from the elegant *Grand Atlas* of Joannes Blaeu (1658-1672). The most ornate map in the library is a world map executed by Petrus Kaerius of Amsterdam around 1610. Unique to the Sutro, this massive and highly decorated map shows California as part of the mainland.

The past and continuing influence of Mexico on California is obvious. Fortunately, through the perspicacity of Adolph Sutro, the library houses one of the finest Mexican history collections found anywhere in the United States. On one of his bookman's holidays, Sutro travelled to Mexico City in 1889 and

purchased the entire stock of the Librería Abadiano. The Abadiano family owned Mexico City's longest established bookstore and publishing house. Sutro returned to his San Francisco library with a treasure trove of rare books (some dating from the incunabula period), manuscripts, pamphlets, and photographs.

Chronologically, this rich collection ranges from the time of Cortés to the administration of Porfirio Díaz. Primary areas of strength include Mexican religious history, printing and publishing history, and the country's struggle for independence. The latter, consisting of tens of thousands of pamphlets, ranks as perhaps the finest single collection in the world. Highlights include a superb copy of Mexico's first constitution (1814); rare polemical tracts by Fernández de Lizardi, the Voltaire of Mexico, and an 1811 broadside excommunicating the leader of the revolution, Miguel Hidalgo.

General histories, published documents, government publications, runs of early 19th century Mexican gazetas (newspapers), and accounts of foreign visitors augment the collection. Sutro also collected works on Mexican antiquities including the sumptuously illustrated *Views In Central America, Chiapas, And Yucatan* by Frederick Catherwood and even a fragment of an Aztec codex. Importantly, the San Francisco bibliophile obtained a number of photographs of the land of the Eagle and Serpent in the 1880s depicting Mexico City, outlying cities and villages, types of people, and the Mexican railway.

Sutro, during this foray into Mexico, returned with a splendid manuscript collection. These are particularly significant for documenting church history as they include the records of the ancient Franciscan convent of Santiago Tlatelolco and works produced by seminarians. By purchasing the Librería Abadiano, Sutro also acquired the records of that venerable bookselling, printing, and publishing family. This represents a real treasure for historians of the



Sutro posed for this action shot in a London studio. Through his famed Sutro Tunnel in Nevada's Comstock Lode, the native of Aachen, Germany made millions and thereby financed the building of his great library.



Symbolic of Sutro's many interests in mining and the City of San Francisco, this book plate is still used by the library.



Mexican book trade.

Scholars may obtain access to the manuscript and pamphlet collections by use of two card indices located in the reading room. As well, through a W. P. A. project, a publication entitled *Catalogue Of Mexican Pamphlets In The Sutro Collection (1623-1888)* was produced. It is now available through the Kraus Reprint company. In the near future, *The Americas* will publish a listing of the Sutro's Mexican manuscripts.

The Sutro Library as the only branch of the California State Library, offers many services. Located on the lower floor of the University of San Francisco's Gleeson Library, it is open to the public Monday through Friday from 10 to 5 p.m. The Sutro remains as one of the few genealogical research libraries to circulate non rare books. Importantly, if a researcher cannot visit the library, materials can be obtained through an efficient inter-library loan service. Thus, if an historian in Long Beach wants a book on Iowa, all he or she has to do is to arrange for the loan by contacting the local public or university library.

Researchers obtain access to the collection through its master card catalogue and special subject files. These include surnames, local history, military history, ethnic groups, manuscripts, photographs, periodicals, newspapers, and Mexican and English pamphlets. As well, the Sutro offers a limited photographic reproduction service.

The other resources of the Sutro have been described in many publications. Richard Dillon's *Anatomy Of A Library* (1957) and "The Sutro Library," *News Notes Of California Libraries* (April 1956), pp. 338-352, are excellent guides to the books collected by Adolph Sutro and the library's history. Such publications as *Sutro Library Notes*, *Occasional Papers*, W. P. A. projects, and articles in library and historical journals also describe the library's varied holdings. Lastly, scrapbooks and newspaper articles narrating Adolph Sutro's adventures as a book collector, the library's peregrinations, and its tumultuous history are available.

The photographs are from the Sutro Library.

## Book Reviews

### *Splendid Survivors: San Francisco's Downtown Architectural Heritage.*

By Charles Hall Page and Associates (San Francisco: California Living Books, 1979. 271 pp. \$19.95)

### *East Bay Heritage: A Potpourri of Living History.*

By Mark A. Wilson. (San Francisco: California Living Books, 1979. 238 pp. \$8.95.)

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Reviewed by Karen J. Weitze, *Architectural Historian, Ph.D.*

California Living Books has recently published two volumes treating the architecture of San Francisco and the East Bay. The first, researched and written by the consulting firm Charles Hall Page and Associates, catalogues and evaluates the commercial core of downtown San Francisco. As its title suggests, *Splendid Survivors: San Francisco's Downtown Architectural Heritage* concentrates on the multi-story fabric of an urban center rebuilt following the earthquake of April 1906. The second, a more personal effort by Mark A. Wilson of Berkeley, provides a series of walking tours through the lesser known complement of San Francisco — the East Bay. *East Bay Heritage: A Potpourri of Living History* explores the remnants of nineteenth and early twentieth century towns now absorbed by the amoeba-like suburban sprawl of recent decades. Both *Survivors* and *Heritage* have much to offer; however, both also contain weaknesses that detract from their contributions to the shelves of California architectural history.

*Splendid Survivors* is strongest as a public education document. Both the historical background chapter and the survey section offer solid material for the layman, student and scholar. Credit for these sections goes in large part to text author Michael R. Corbett; his history chapter is thoughtful, tightly organized and well-presented. The style is fluid and the illustrations aptly chosen. Most commendable is the author's effort to research the whole story; we are given a full picture of downtown San Francisco from its architectural beginnings to the present. Care is taken to unravel not just the Victorian through 1940 eras (those popular with the layman and accepted by the preservationists), but also the little acknowledged and documented years closer to our own time: the 1950s, 60s and 70s. Scholarly emphasis is accented by the concluding history units which examine the prominent architects of San Francisco (their education and the state of the profession), as well as

the major construction systems employed 1906-1979. Finally, the survey section — the focus of the volume — carries the momentum of the critical history chapter into the streets for a detailed look at the buildings themselves.

Unfortunately, *Survivors* attempts to be all things to all people. Not content to be just a public education document, the volume also proclaims itself to be a planning manual, a preservation tool and a model for other cities. Between the lines, but no less subtly, it announces itself as an advertisement for Charles Hall Page and Associates, Incorporated. As a planning manual, *Survivors* is perhaps most suspect. In the opening chapter on methodology, Charles Hall Page and Associates note that they are attempting to quantify the aesthetics of architecture. Boldly pointing to the example of Grade A and Grade B oranges, the consulting firm advocates that the same "objective rating" is possible for buildings. Furthermore, they proclaim, the public deserves the comfort of such labels. What is assumed here is that design aesthetics, like juice content, can be quantified, rated and given a score. What is advertised is the Charles Hall Page system: the relative point value of E (excellent), VG (very good), G (good), and F/P (fair/poor) for the 13 categories of style, construction, age, architect, design, interior, history-person, history-event, patterns, environment-continuity, environment-setting, environment-landmark and integrity-alterations.

Through this system a building receives a number score and all the realtor/entrepreneurs are content with the firm knowledge that the building on the corner is a 92, while the parcel one block over is a lesser 84. (Dollar signs can be adjusted accordingly.) Planners are relieved, too; now a set of scores can be applied to the city building files. In the future it will be crystal clear what to keep and what to bulldoze. For those who are aware, however, it is not so simple. Someone in the crowd is meekly asking — what about the criteria established for the National Register of Historic Places? The National Register is elastic; its criteria treat cultural resources on a case by case basis within a broad framework. An 'E' for design is not always worth 25 points, nor an 'E' for construction 12. Mathematical scores are not assigned. How, then, do cities use the Page system as a preservation tool? How does a city transfer the information on a Page form to that of the survey form used by the California Office of Historic Preservation — the latter based on National Register criteria? How do other cities follow such a model — when they must deal with National Register criteria for state and federal fund-



ing? These questions remain unanswered by *Survivors*.

Leaving San Francisco and focusing attention across the Bay, *East Bay Heritage* explores the older sections of Alameda, Albany, Benicia, Berkeley, Fremont, Hayward, Oakland, Richmond and Vallejo. Long accustomed to the glories of San Francisco and Berkeley/Oakland, architectural historians and critics have commented little on the surrounding historic townsites. In this regard, the mapped, annotated walking tours fill a void for citizens of the East Bay and are a welcome supplement to the standard mentionings in David Gebhard's *Guide to Northern California Architecture*. Where *Heritage* falls short is in its opening chapter. Here architectural history is repeatedly discussed as a series of fashionable trends. Stylistic developments are described as fads, manias, crazes and vogues. At best, the background history is loosely handled — at worst, it gives the impression that architectural history is the result of whim. Theory, architects' backgrounds and the state of the profession remain unacknowledged. Perhaps Mark A. Wilson's efforts here would have been strengthened by omitting the history chapter altogether, thus allowing his obvious love of buildings to speak for itself through the walking tours that comprise the remainder of the text.

*New Spain's Far Northern Frontier: Essays on Spain in the American West, 1540-1821.*

Edited by David J. Weber. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1979. 321 pp. \$14.95.)

*Reviewed by W. Turrentine Jackson, Professor of History, University of California, Davis.*

Edited volumes of essays by selected historians and collective works appear to be in vogue with publishers, specifically university presses, at the present time. David J. Weber's volume on the northern frontier of New Spain includes eighteen contributions by notable practitioners of Spanish Borderlands history, most of whom are contemporaries. Donald Worcester's recent presidential address to the Western History Association emphasizing the national importance of the Southwest and its Spanish-speaking peoples, not only historically but even more, in contem-

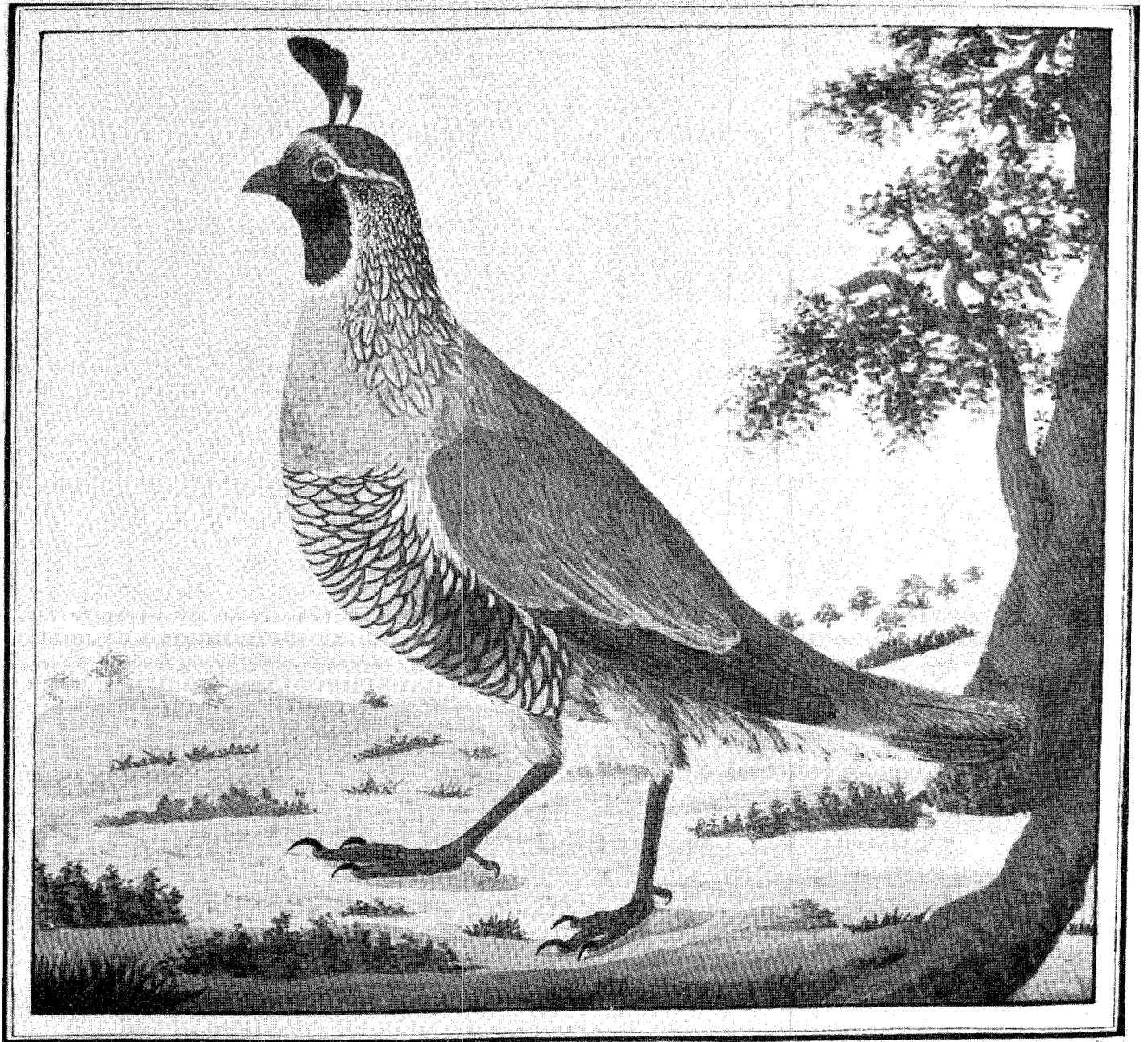
porary affairs, establishes a justification for the book. Concerning early exploration, George Hammond traces the fabulous myths concerning wealth and glory that motivated the Spanish; Donald Cutter emphasizes their scientific contribution. Colonial institutions are evaluated in Eugene C. Bolton's classic account of the missions that has stood the test of time, by Odie B. Faulk's more hedging appraisal of the presidio, and by Sandra Myres' debatable suggestion that the *ranchero* provided the background for the nineteenth century cattle industry of the Great Plains. Marc Simmons presents settlement patterns in Hispanic New Mexico emphasizing a lack of planning and a tendency toward dispersal because of a preference to avoid towns and population centers.

Turning to society, Manuel Servín's controversial argument that the Hispanic heritage of California is a myth, that rather it was Mexican, or Indian, is reprinted. In sharp methodological contrast, Alicia V. Tjarks contributes a demographic analysis of Texas population in the Spanish period utilizing the latest quantitative techniques. Where the frontier experience is concerned, C. Alan Hutchison argues that the suggestion of Frederick Jackson Turner did not apply to California. Silvio Zavala agrees where the rest of Hispanic America is concerned, but seeks examples on some frontiers where the comparative process may prove valid.

In analyzing the administrative policy in the northern provinces of Spain, Luis Navarro García concentrates on the interaction of the views of the Marqués de Rubí and José de Gálvez, while Joseph F. Park describes the impact of Gálvez's Indian policy. Quite justifiably, the Indians are given preponderant attention. Albert H. Schroeder valiantly attempts to tell the story of their survival in the Spanish Southwest from the viewpoint of the Indian rather than the Spaniard. George Philips suggests that the Indians of California, far from being passive, succeeded in disrupting the mission system and were a major factor in its demise. Art historians will enjoy William Wroth's account of the flowering and decline of the art form of the making of wooden saints — *santos* — in eighteenth century New Mexico. John L. Kessel decries the search for relevance that suggests, among other things, that the Indians and Spanish were practicing environmentalists, and cites evidence to the contrary. In a thoughtful conclusion, editor Weber traces the historical roots of the negative stereotype of Borderland Mexicans held by Anglo-Americans.

All of these essays have been previously published and a

Spanish scientific contributions in New Spain included the  
cataloging and sketching of native plants and animals.  
This drawing of the California Valley Quail was done by José Cardero in 1791.



*Falcō Rio montanus*





reviewer might argue that the book contains nothing new. This is not the case. The editor has made a distinct contribution in bringing together in a single volume some of the best historical literature on the Spanish Borderlands from a wide variety of periodicals. College and university teachers will be indebted for an outstanding book of readings to use in conjunction with their courses. The editor has prepared a brief, excellent survey of the Hispanic penetration of the Southwest, 1540-1821, as an introduction. He has also provided the gist of every contribution by a prefatory comment. As a result, David J. Weber has enhanced his growing reputation as one of the most outstanding and understanding historians of the Hispanic Southwest of his generation. Contrary to the publisher's statement, it should be noted that the contributors to this publication are overwhelmingly Anglos. Silvio Zavala and Luis Navarro García in translation and perhaps Manuel Servín are the only exceptions. In some quarters this would be termed tokenism.

*The Story of New San Diego and of its Founder  
Alonzo E. Horton.*

By Elizabeth C. MacPhail. (San Diego: San Diego Historical Society, 1979. 163 pp. \$8.95.)

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*Reviewed by Iris Wilson Engstrand, Professor of History at the University of San Diego; Chairman, Board of Editorial Consultants, Journal of San Diego History.*

Elizabeth MacPhail's revised edition of her originally successful biography of Alonzo Horton appears in an entirely new and heavily illustrated format. The many additional historic photographs from the San Diego Historical Society's Title Insurance and Trust Collection greatly enhance the lively and thoughtful text. Mrs. MacPhail, well known for her numerous publications on early San Diego, has done a thorough job of research and tells the story of "Father" Alonzo Horton, his relationship with Old Town,

*The Matthew Sherman home at Twenty-Second and Market Streets in San Diego was one of many elegant residences built during the Boom of the Eighties.*

his building of New Town, and his personal dreams, with an exciting and fast-moving narrative. She follows his steps from the incredible purchase of San Diego's heartland for just \$265.00 in 1867 through his many investments in downtown buildings. She believes that with the great interest in downtown redevelopment, readers should understand that Horton was responsible for first setting into motion some of the ideas that urban planners are considering at present.

Not only does Mrs. MacPhail cover Horton's many and varied interests, she traces the careers of his predecessor William Heath Davis and his fellow San Diegans such as George White Marston, Louis J. Wilde, John D. Spreckels and other contemporaries whose names still live in San Diego. She covers many of the land transactions during the Boom of the Eighties, the development of Balboa Park, and the activities of pioneer horticulturist Kate Sessions. She carries her story through Horton's death in 1909 at the age of 95 years and concludes appropriately with Horton's own comment: "I am not surprised at what has happened here in San Diego. I have seen it all — the tall buildings and great ships at anchor, taller buildings and greater ships than I had ever seen. I dreamed it all."

The book, although primarily of local interest, is representative of the kinds of activities that were taking place during the final quarter of the nineteenth century in other areas of the state and nation. For this reason, it should be of use to students of urban history everywhere. Designed by Thomas L. Scharf, it is a welcome addition to the publications of the San Diego Historical Society.

### *Harvest Empire: A History of California Agriculture.*

By Lawrence J. Jelinek. (San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Company, 1979. 113 pp.)

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*Reviewed by Richard J. Orsi, Professor of History at California State University, Hayward, and author of A List of References for the History of Agriculture in California (1974).*

At long last, a courageous writer has produced a synthesis of California agricultural history, something for which scholars have been pleading for over three decades.

Moreover, Lawrence Jelinek has attempted this difficult task in a slim volume in the new Golden State Series, which is intended to be suggestive rather than exhaustive. Given the goals of the author and the inherent limitations of his format, he succeeds remarkably well.

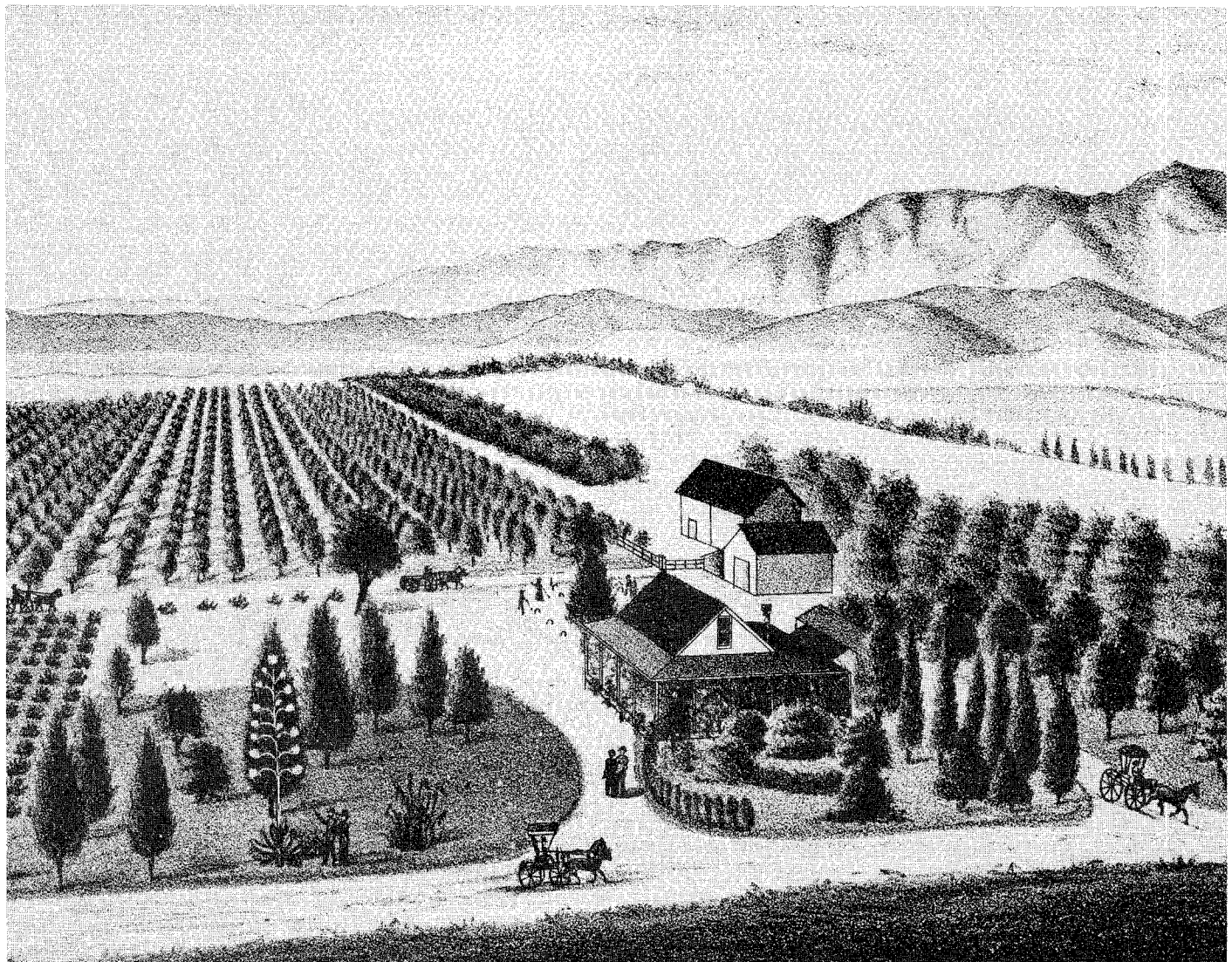
In writing his interpretive survey, Jelinek has avoided the romantic, parochial perspective on this subject which has led some others to write agricultural "histories" composed mainly of shallow litanies of crop statistics and California "firsts." He reminds us from the onset that California is not "agriculture's version of Eden." Despite the land's rich potential, successful production was achieved only through struggle, failure, organization, and, frequently, bitter conflict. Maintaining this balanced, critical stance throughout, Jelinek examines the major periods in the state's agricultural development, including pre-colonization Indian agriculture (or lack thereof) the transplantation of southern European models under Spanish and Mexican rule, the extension of frontier American farming during the gold rush, the bonanza wheat and specialty crop agriculture of the late nineteenth century, and the emergence in the twentieth century of industrial farming. In treating these topics, Jelinek particularly emphasizes the importance of irrigation, crop experimentation, market organization, and a distinctive harvest labor system in overcoming natural disadvantages.

Jelinek's most significant contribution is his analysis of the controversial origins and contradictions of modern, large-scale structure in California farming. Shunning the simplistic environmental causation stressed by many others, he instead demonstrates that modern agribusiness, far from being inevitable, resulted from a complex of reversible social and political forces operating over the last two centuries, especially the virtually unchecked ability of large farm interests to shape public policy. As a result, government's expanding agricultural subsidies — public irrigation development, tax-funded research, marketing assistance, price supports, and labor projects such as the infamous Bracero Program — have primarily benefitted large-scale enterprises. Essentially, according to Jelinek, corporate farming has come to reign in California, not because of impersonal environmental or economic forces, but rather because of conscious social choice manifested through a political process in which the power of the large-scale enterprises has been decisive. Increasingly, Jelinek maintains, the rise of agribusiness has created a "value crisis" between democratic ideals and modern



agricultural reality, not only because of the well-known exploitation of field laborers, but also because of a widening, government sanctioned competitive disadvantage for small farmers. This contradiction is a vital unmet challenge to the state, indeed to the nation at large. Because alternatives exist to consolidated lands, production, and processing, Jelinek believes the dilemma can be resolved.

This excellent little book is not without blemishes. Some, such as the scanty notes and bibliography, are undoubtedly products of the book's format. But, many historians may squirm at Jelinek's rose-hued portrait of Mexican rancho life (p. 19) or vigorously debate his assertion that in the late nineteenth century it was the spread of irrigation, and not the expansion of markets



*Residence, Orange Grove & Raisin Vineyard of W.T. Simms, Riverside*

through railroad construction, which was "the most important development allowing for the commercial emergence of specialty crop agriculture" (p. 55). More seriously in this reviewer's estimation, the book underrates and distorts the role of the University of California in agricultural development. In contrast to the many pages devoted to labor and unionization, admittedly important topics, the University's activities are relegated to one and one half scattered paragraphs of material pertaining solely to twentieth-century governmental favoritism toward agribusiness. Inexplicably, Eugene W. Hilgard is not even mentioned, nor are the experiment stations, the State Farm (later branch campus) at Davis, or the University's many attempts, especially prior to 1913, to reach small farmers, who responded by ignoring, and often ridiculing, the University's vision of a scientific agriculture. Nevertheless, Jelinek is to be commended for having given us a well-written, stimulating, and insightful preliminary history which will be rewarding to scholars, college students, and general readers alike. Let us hope others will follow his lead.

### *Mission Dolores: A Documentary History of San Francisco Mission.*

Compiled and edited by Msgr. Francis J. Weber. (Los Angeles: Archdiocese of Los Angeles Archives, 1979, x, 203 pp. \$11.00)

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*Reviewed by W. Michael Mathes, Professor of History, University of San Francisco, holder of the California Historical Society's Henry R. Wagner Memorial Award, and author of many books and articles on Spanish California.*

In 1975 Monsignor Francis J. Weber, Archivist of the Archdiocese of Los Angeles, initiated the publication of a series of documentary histories projected to cover each of the Alta California Missions. Thus far San Fernando (1975), San Juan Capistrano (1976), San Buenaventura (1978), Santa Bárbara, San Gabriel (1979) and the present volume have appeared, all following identical format and nicely printed.

*Mission Dolores* is a collection of sixty-two excerpts from books and articles by historians of the mission such as the late Fathers Maynard Geiger and Zephyrin Engelhardt,

nineteenth and early twentieth century descriptions, newspaper accounts, and some published primary documents; several items are original works by the compiler and others would be difficult to obtain in their original form. Arranged generally in chronological order, these excerpts present a series of vignettes of the mission from its founding in 1776 to 1978.

As in most collections of this nature, reasons for selection or exclusion of documents can be questioned and debated, however, certainly Msgr. Weber's selection here meets the necessary requirements of being informative and interesting. Clearer citations to the original works would have been in order, and the inclusion of a bibliography, a feature to be found in other volumes in the series would have been appreciated; possibly an extensive bibliographical volume will be projected to cap the series. Accent marks are used on some Spanish words where not required and are omitted on others where they are needed.

Available through the Mission Dolores Gift Shop, this new book, as are the other volumes in the series, is essential to any library of early Californiana. It is limited to some 350 copies. Let us hope that future volumes will appear with greater frequency so that readers will not have to wait another fifteen years to complete the series.

The photograph on p. 181 is courtesy of the Museo Naval, Madrid, Spain. All other photographs are from the CHS Library.



# California Check List

By Joy Berry, *Reference Librarian*

The California Check List provides notice of publication of books, pamphlets, and monographs pertaining to the history of California. Readers knowing of recent (1979-80) publications which need additional publicity are requested to send the following bibliographical information to the compiler of this list: Author, title, location and name of publisher, date of publication, number of pages, price, and address where item can be purchased if not carried at general bookstores.

Albronda, Mildred. *Douglas Tilden: Portrait of a Deaf Sculptor*. Silver Spring, Maryland: T. J. Publishers, 1980. Publisher, 817 Silver Spring Ave., Suite 305-D, Silver Spring, Maryland 20910. \$14.95 (cloth); \$10.95 (paper).

Andrews, John R. *Ghost Towns of Amador*. rev. ed. Fresno: Book Publishers, 1979. 140 pp. Publisher, 8 East Olive Ave., Fresno, 93728. \$3.95.

Baer, Morley. *Room and Time Enough: The Land of Mary Austin*. Photographs by Morley Baer; introduction by Augusta Fink. Lines by Mary Austin. Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland Press, 1980. 84 pp. Publisher, P. O. Box N, Flagstaff, Arizona 86002. \$20.00.

*The Berkeley Cookbook: A Collection of Choice and Tested Recipes*, by the Ladies of Berkeley, California. (circa 1884) Facsimile edition. Published for the Berkeley Centennial Celebration. 150 pp. Publisher, Creative Arts Book Company, 833 Bancroft Way, Berkeley, 94710. \$4.95.

Bohakel, Charles A. *Mount Diablo, the "Devil" Mountain of California*. Reprint of 2nd revised edition, 1975. Antioch: Author, 1980. 20 pp. Publisher, Charles A. Bohakel, P. O. Box 817, Antioch, 94509. \$3.00.

Branch, Edgar Marquess and Robert H. Hirst. *Early Tales and Sketches*, vol. 1, 1851-1864. (Vol. 15 of *The Works of Mark Twain*) Berkeley: University of California Press, 1979. 789 pp. \$37.50.

Burchell, R. A. *The San Francisco Irish*,

1848-1880. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980. \$16.95.

Burns, Elizabeth K. "The Enduring Affluent Suburb." In *Landscape Magazine*. San Mateo County Historical Association. College of San Mateo Campus, 1700 West Hillsdale Blvd. San Mateo, 94402. \$4.50.

Cady, Lanore Corbin. *Houses & Letters*. Woolwich, Maine: TBW Books, 1979. 68 pp. Publisher, Box 58, Day's Ferry Road, Woolwich, 04579. \$35.00.

Camarillo, Albert. *Chicanos in a Changing Society: From Mexican Pueblos to American Barrios in Santa Barbara and Southern California, 1848-1930*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1979. \$17.50.

Castillo, Richard Griswold del. *The Los Angeles Barrio, 1850-1890: A Social History*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980. 232 pp. \$16.95.

Center for California Public Affairs. *California Museum Directory*. Claremont: Center for California Public Affairs, 1979. 75 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 10, Claremont, 91711. \$15.00.

Chatham, Russell D. *Striped Bass on the Fly: A Guide to California Waters*. San Francisco: California Living, 1980. 96 pp. \$4.50.

Clary, Raymond. *The Making of Golden Gate Park. The Early Years: 1865-1906*. San Francisco: California Living, 1980. 224 pp. \$18.50 (cloth); \$9.95 (paper).

Comstock, David A. and Ardis Hatten Comstock. *Index to 1880 History of Nevada County, California, Thompson & West*. Grass Valley: Comstock Bonanza Press, 1979. 84 pp. Publisher, William Quirk Memorial Drive, Grass Valley, California. \$14.50.

Culver, John H. and John C. Syer. *Power and Politics in California*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1980. 236 pp.

Daniels, Douglas Henry. *Pioneer Urbanites: A Social and Cultural History of Black San Francisco*. Philadelphia, Pa: Temple University Press, 1980. 265 pp. \$17.50.

Dean, Terry J. and Ronald J. Heckart. *Proposition 13 in the 1978 California Primary: A Pre-election Bibliography*. Berkeley: Institute of Governmental

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- Studies, 1979. 88 pp. Publisher, 109 Moses Hall, University of California, Berkeley, 94720. \$6.00.
- December's Child: A Book of Chumash Oral Narratives.* Collected by J. P. Harrington. Edited, with an analysis, by Thomas C. Blackburn. Berkeley: University of California, 1980. 383 pp. (Cal. Paperback Series, 446) \$5.95.
- Dicker, Laverne Mau. *The Chinese in San Francisco: A Pictorial History.* New York: Dover Publications, 1979. 134 pp. \$6.00.
- Eagle, Dolan, Jr. "Tickets, Please . . ." *All About California Railroads.* San Francisco: California Living, 1980. 160 pp. \$8.95.
- Elias, Solomon P. *Stories of Stanislaus.* Modesto: McHenry Museum Guild, 1979. (Facsimile of 1924 ed. published by Solomon P. Elias) 334 pp. Publisher, 1402 I Street, Modesto, 95354.
- Everson, William. *Eastward the Armies;* with illus. by Tom Killion. Aptos: Labyrinth editions, 1980. 58 pp. Zeitlin & Ver Brugge, 815 No. La Cienega Blvd., Los Angeles, 90069. \$32.50 (deluxe ed. in 2 vols.); \$165 (trade edition).
- Exotic Food Guide.* San Francisco: California Living, 1980. 64 pp. (Savvy San Francisco Series) \$2.50.
- Ferlinghetti, Lawrence. *Literary San Francisco: A Pictorial History.* New York: Harper & Row, 1980.
- Fowle, Eleanor. *Cranston, the Senator from California.* San Francisco: Presidio Press, 1980. 225 pp. Publisher, 1114 Irwin, San Rafael. \$10.95.
- Frye, Melinda Young. ed. *Natives & Settlers: Indian and Yankee Culture in Early California.* Oakland Museum, 1980. 88 pp.
- Gerstley, James M. *Borax Years: Some Recollections 1933-1961,* Los Angeles: privately published, 1979. 93 pp.
- Gough, Jeff. *Unseen Faces.* San Francisco: California Living, 1980. 96 pp. \$3.50.
- Hager, Anna Marie and Everett Gorden Hager. *Cumulative Index to Southern California Quarterly, 1958-1976.* Los Angeles: Historical Society of Southern California, 1980. Publisher, 20 East Ave. 43, Los Angeles, 90031. \$19.61
- Hansen, Gladys. *San Francisco Almanac: Everything You Want to Know About the City.* rev. ed. San Francisco: Chronicle Books, 1980.
- Harrington, John P. *Breath of the Sun. Life of Early California, as Told by a Chumash Indian, Fernando Librado, to John P. Harrington.* Edited with notes by Travis Hudson. Ventura: Ventura County Historical Society, 1980. Publisher, 100 East Main Street, Ventura, 93001. 200 pp. \$15.00.
- Harris, Elizabeth. *Townsite of Silsbee and Indian Well.* Holtville: Imperial Valley Pioneer Society, 1979. 39 pp. Publisher, Imperial Valley Pioneer Society, Box 205, Holtville, 92250.
- Hart, James. *San Francisco's Wilderness Next Door.* San Rafael: Presidio Press, 1980. 158 pp. \$9.95.
- Hartman, Ilka Stoffregen. *The Youth of Charles M. Weber, Founder of Stockton.* Stockton: University of the Pacific. Pacific Center for Western History Studies, 1979. Publisher, Stockton, 95211. \$5.50.
- Hartshorn, Truman A. *Interpreting the City.* New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1980.
- Heizer, Robert F. and Albert B. Elasser. *The Natural World of California Indians.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980. 320 pp. \$12.95.
- Hickman, Paul and Terence Pitts. *George Fiske: Yosemite Photographer.* Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland Press, 1980. 118 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box N, Flagstaff, Az. 86002. \$20.00.
- Hill, Mary A. and Charlotte Perkins Gilman. *The Making of a Radical Feminist, 1860-1896.* Philadelphia, Pa: Temple University Press, 1980. 311 pp. \$14.95.
- Hobbs, Frederic. *Paradise on Earth: Four Hundred Years on the Monterey Coast.* San Francisco: California Living, 1980. 224 pp. \$9.95.
- Howard, Danny. *Southern California and the Pacific Electric.* Author, 1980. 80 pp. \$9.95. Interurbans, P.O. Box 6444, Glendale, 91205. \$9.95.
- Knox, Maxine and Mary Rodriguez. *Steinbeck's Street: Cannery Row.* San Rafael: Presidio Press, 1980. 104 pp. \$6.95.



- Lapp, Rudolph. *Afro-Americans in California*. San Francisco: Boyd & Fraser Publishing Co., 1979. 71 pp. Publisher, 3627 Sacramento St., San Francisco, 94118. \$3.75.
- Lavender, David. *The Southwest*. New York: Harper & Row, 1980. 352 pp. \$15.95.
- Lyons, Jimmy. *Dizzy, Duke, the Count and Me: The Story of the Monterey Jazz Festival*. San Francisco: California Living, 1980. 200 pp. \$19.95 (cloth); \$9.94 (paper).
- Marinacci, Barbara and Rudy. *California's Spanish Place-Names: What They Mean and How They Got There*. San Rafael: Presidio Press, 1980. 266 pp. \$6.95.
- Marlowe, Don. *The Hollywood That Was*. Fort Worth, Texas: Branch-Smith, Inc., 1980. Publisher, Fort Worth, Texas 76101. \$5.95.
- May, Antoinette. *Haunted Houses and Wandering Ghosts of California*. San Francisco: California Living, 1980. 90 pp. \$7.95.
- Moore, Patricia Anne. *The Casino, Avalon, Santa Catalina Island, California*. Avalon: Catalina Island Museum, 1979. 100 pp. Publisher, P.O. Box 366, Avalon, 90704. \$6.95.
- Muir, John. *Cascades*. Stockton: Conference of Historical Societies, 1979. Publisher, University of Pacific, Stockton, 95211. \$5.00.
- Muybridge, Eadweard. *Muybridge's Complete Human and Animal Locomotion*. (Republication) New York: Dover Publications, 1980. 3 vols. \$100.00.
- Neighborhood Guide*. San Francisco: California Living, 1980. 64 pp. (Savvy San Francisco Series) \$2.50.
- 1979 *Directory of California Genealogical Societies and Family Organizations*. Stockton: Conference of California Historical Societies, University of the Pacific, 1980. Publisher, Stockton, 95211. \$1.00.
- Olmsted, Roger and others. *Yerba Buena Center*. San Francisco Redevelopment Agency, 1979. 320 pp. Publisher, P. O. Box 646, San Francisco, 94101.
- Orlando, Joseph. *The Waterfront Cookbook: Secrets of San Francisco Restaurant Chefs*. San Francisco: California Living, 1980. 128 pp. \$4.95.
- Perkins, Peter. *Cowboys of the High Sierra*. Flagstaff, Arizona: Northland Press, 1980. 141 pp. Publisher, P. O. Box N, Flagstaff, 86002. \$12.50.
- Powell, Jerry A. and Charles L. Hogue. *California Insects*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980. 432 pp. \$15.95.
- Pride of the Wineries: The California Living Wine Report*. San Francisco: California Living, 1980. 192 pp. \$4.95.
- Rather, Lois. *Miss Kate: Kate Douglas Wiggin in San Francisco*. Oakland: Rather Press, 1980. 91 pp. Publisher, 3200 Guido Street, Oakland, 94602. \$25.00.
- Read, R. B. *San Francisco Affordable Feasts*. San Francisco: California Living, 1980. 2 vols, \$3.95 (each).
- Richardson, Katherine Wood. *The Story of the La Grange and the California Pioneers of New England*. Salem, Mass: Essex Institute, April, 1979. 49 pp. Publisher, Salem, Mass. 1970. (From: Essex Institute Historical Collections) \$4.00.
- Ritter, Jess. *Fixin's*. San Francisco: California Living, 1980. 224 pp. \$8.95.
- Robinson, W. W. *Land in California*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980. (reissue) \$4.95.
- Roemer, Ruth and William Shonick. *Private Management of California County Hospitals*. Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, 1980. 27 pp. Publisher, 109 Moses Hall, University of California, Berkeley, 94720. \$3.75.
- Rosen, Seymour. *In Celebration of Ourselves*. Published in association with the San Francisco Museum of Modern Art. San Francisco: California Living, 1980. 176 pp. \$25.00 cloth; \$12.50 paper.
- Sargent, Shirley. *A Western Journey With Mr. Emerson*. San Francisco: Book Club of California, 1980. (Available to members only).
- Schmidt, Marjorie. *Growing California Native Plants*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1980. 400 pp. \$15.95.
- Scott, Stanley. *Policies for Seismic Safety: Elements of a State Governmental Program*. Berkeley: Institute of Governmental

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- Studies, 1979. 94 pp. Publisher, 109 Moses Hall, University of California, Berkeley, 94720. \$5.75.
- Scott, Stanley. *What Decisionmakers Need to Know: Policy and Social Science Research on Seismic Safety*. Berkeley: Institute of Governmental Studies, 1979. 38 pp. Publisher, 109 Moses Hall, University of California, Berkeley, 94720. \$2.65.
- Shinn, Charles Howard. *The Story of the Mine*. Republication. University of Nevada Press, 1980. \$6.50.
- Sisson, James E. and Robert W. Martens. *Jack London First Editions: A Chronological Reference Guide*. Oakland: Star Rover House, 1979. 140 pp. \$27.50.
- Tinkham, George H. *History of Stanislaus County, With Biographical Sketches*. Modesto: McHenry Museum Guild, 1979. (Facsimile of 1921 edition published by Historical Record Co., Los Angeles) 2 vols. Publisher, 1402 I Street, Modesto, 95354. \$41.50.
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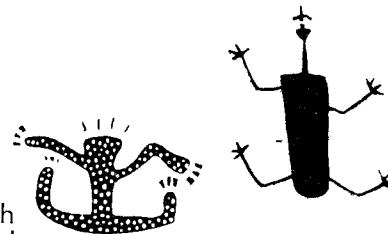
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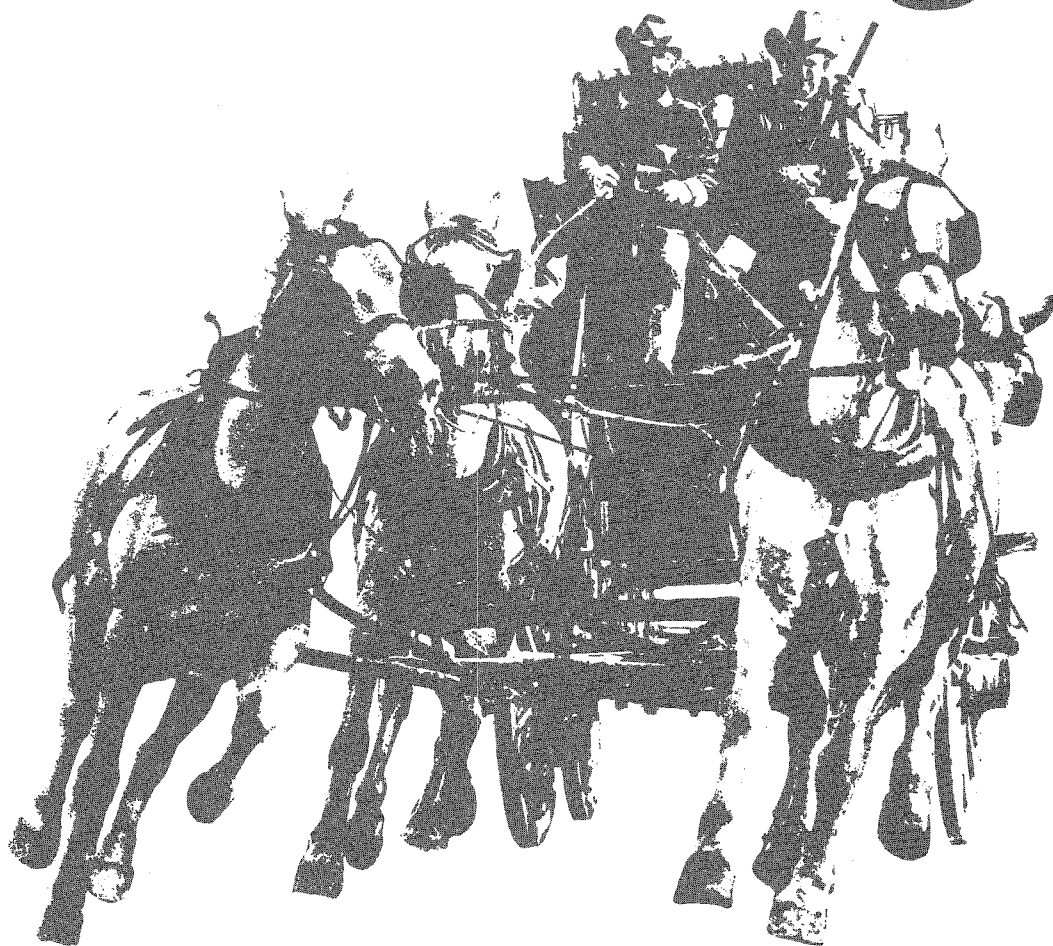
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